THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR



ENTHRONEMENT OF OGEDEI

From a very old MS. of Rashid-ad-Din in the Bibliothèque Nationale

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

by

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik

JUVAINI

Translated from the text of

Mirza Muhammad

QAZVINI

by

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE, Ph.D.

VOL. I

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
316–324, Oxford Road, Manchester 13

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
PERSIAN SERIES
Published in accordance with an agreement between UNESCO and the University of Tehran. In compliance with the regulations of UNESCO, this translation has been revised by Professor V. Minorsky

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

THIS TRANSLATION

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED TO

MY WIFE,

MARGARET ELIZABETH

FOREWORD

WHETHER or not the Bible legend is true that it was Man's presumption in building the Tower of Babel which caused the multiplicity of languages in the world, the punishment was very severe; and it falls with especial severity upon historians. Anyone who wishes to trace the major events in history must be himself an accomplished linguist or must put his reliance on translations that are often inaccurate and out of date or on indirect references to works that have never been translated from their original tongue. The rise and expansion of the Mongol Empire are among the most important events of later medieval history. There was barely a country in Europe or Asia that was not in some way affected by the Mongol onslaught, and many of them had their whole course changed by it. But the historian who attempts to tell its story is faced with essential sources in a greater number of languages than any one human being can be expected to know. Sooner or later he has to depend upon translators, whose works will be useless to him unless they are exact, intelligent and clear.

Of the writers who have left contemporary accounts of the Mongols none is more important than Juvaini. He knew personally many of the chief actors in the dramatic stories that he told. He enjoyed the confidence of the Il-Khan Hülegü, the Mongol conqueror of Baghdad. He himself was intimately connected with one of the most interesting episodes in the story, the destruction of the headquarters of the Assassins at Alamut. He was, moreover, a historian in the best Moslem tradition, a man of wide interests and of literary accomplishment. But hitherto his work in its entirety has only been accessible to Persian scholars. A full and worthy translation of his history into English is therefore a very welcome contribution to historiography. I hope that it will be read not only by the specialist students of the Mongol expansion and of the strange sect of the Assassins but also by everyone who finds pleasure in reading history.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

CONTENTS

PART TWO

CONTENTS

[*Continued in Vol. II*

Frontispiece. Enthronement of Ögedei

Maps. Three maps illustrating this history will be found at the end of this volume.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WHILST recording the names of those who have helped me in the preparation of this work I should like at the same time to pay tribute to the memory of the late Professor H. H. Schaeder, who occupied, at the time of his recent death, the chair of Oriental Philology and the History of Religion in the University of Göttingen. It was in Professor Schaeder's *Seminar* in Berlin, in the autumn of 1938, that I first became acquainted with the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* of Juvaini; and it is a source of deep regret to me that he did not live to see the translation of a work to which I was introduced under his stimulating guidance nearly twenty years ago.

A version of Part I was included in a Ph.D. thesis prepared under the supervision of Professor Vladimir Minorsky, then Professor (now Professor Emeritus) of Persian in the University of London. I afterwards continued to work on the translation with the encouragement of Professor Minorsky, who took an active interest in its progress. I used to send my version to him in instalments of a chapter or two at a time and he would check it against the Persian original; and down to the time when the translation was actually in the press he was constantly answering my queries on historical, geographical and linguistic problems. It was he too who revised the final draft of the translation in accordance with the requirements of Unesco. The initials V. M. in the footnotes are far indeed from indicating the extent of my indebtedness to Professor Minorsky. The idea of the translation was his, and but for his help and inspiration it would never have been completed.

The means of publication were provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which I approached at the suggestion and with the support of Professor A. J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. UNESCO, in collaboration with the University of Tehran, has planned to

publish a series of translations from and into Persian; and with the agreement of the Iranian authorities the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* was chosen as the first book of Persian literature to be translated into English in the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works.

Throughout the preparation of this work I have drawn upon the experience of specialists in many fields of study. In the early stages I had the privilege of frequent consultations with the eminent Iranian scholar, His Excellency Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh, then resident in Cambridge. In the final stages I had the good fortune to enter into correspondence with Professor F. W. Cleaves, Associate Professor of Far Eastern Languages in Harvard University, who painstakingly answered my numerous queries on Mongolian and Chinese problems and also provided me with translations of passages from the *Yüan shih*, the official history of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty of China, a source still for the most part accessible only to Sinologists. The annotation of the *History of the World-Conqueror* has been much enriched by these contributions from Professor Cleaves. Other scholars whom I consulted include Dr. M. A. Azzam, Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; Professor A. F. L. Beeston, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford; Sir Gerard Clauson, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., F.S.A.; Professor Willy Hartner, Professor of the History of the Natural Sciences in the University of Frankfurt-am-Main; Professor W. B. Henning, Professor of Central Asian Studies in the University of London; Dr. W. O. Howarth, formerly of the Department of Botany in the University of Manchester; Professor E. S. Kennedy, Associate Professor of Mathematics in the American University, Beirut; Dr. J. D. Latham of the University Library, Manchester; Professor Reuben Levy, Professor of Persian in the University of Cambridge; Professor Bernard Lewis, Professor of the History of the Near and Middle East in the University of London; Dr. M. M. Majdhub, Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Khartoum; the late Dr. A. A. A. Meguid, formerly Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; Professor O. Neugebauer, Professor of the

History of Mathematics in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island; Dr. D. J. Price, Consultant in the History of Astronomy and Physics, U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; and Lieut.-Col. G. E. Wheeler, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., Director of the Central Asian Research Centre.

For the prolonged loan of many works essential for my researches I am indebted to the India Office Library and the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society, the School of Oriental and African Studies and, in particular, the University of Manchester.

Mr. H. M. Barnes of the Literature Section of UNESCO and my colleague Mr. C. F. Beckingham, Senior Lecturer in Islamic History in the University of Manchester, read through the manuscript of the translation and made a number of valuable suggestions. Mr. Beckingham also helped me with the proof-reading, as did likewise Mr. T. M. Johnstone, Lecturer in Arabic in the School of Oriental and African Studies, whom I had previously consulted upon certain quotations from the Arabic poets.

The maps were planned with the collaboration and advice of Mr. W. C. Brice of the Department of Geography in the University of Manchester and were executed by Miss E. A. Lowcock, Draughtswoman to that Department.

By the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial and Messrs. Luzac and Co. two plates from the original Persian edition by the late Muhammad Qazvini have been reproduced as frontispieces to Vols. I and II respectively.

Mr. T. L. Jones, Secretary to the Manchester University Press, was always ready with help and counsel throughout the whole process of publication and the Printers, Messrs. Butler and Tanner, surmounted with complete success the difficulties of a text which presented many unfamiliar typographical problems.

To all who have been of assistance in the production of this book I offer my warmest thanks.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

'ALA-AD-DIN 'Ata-Malik Juvaini was born, in all probability, in the year 1226. This is the date given by the Syrian historian Dhahabi[1] and it accords with Juvaini's own statement that when he began to work on his history, i.e. during his residence in Qara-Qorum between May, 1252, and September, 1253, he was in his twenty-seventh year. As the name Juvaini implies his family was connected with the district of Juvain in Khorasan. This district, now known as Jaghatai, lies to the north-west of Nishapur in a valley between the Harda and Jaghatai mountains. The chief town was then Azadvar, a place which afterwards declined in importance but is still to be found on large-scale maps. Yaqut, the celebrated geographer, a contemporary of Juvaini, describes Azadvar, which he had visited, as a prosperous little town with mosques and a bazaar; outside the gates was a great caravanserai for the accommodation of merchants. Here it was that Juvaini's great-grandfather, Baha-ad-Din, had waited upon the Khorazm-Shah Tekish when he passed through on his way to do battle with Sultan Toghril, the last of the Seljuq rulers of Persia. And here was the birthplace of the two famous brothers, Shams-ad-Din, the vizier of the Il-Khans, and 'Ala-ad-Din, the historian of the Mongol invasion.[2]

The family from which they sprang was one of the most distinguished in Persia. Juvainis had held high office under both the Seljuqs and the Khorazm-Shahs; and they claimed descent from Fadl, the son of ar-Rabi', who succeeded the Barmecides in the service of Harun ar-Rashid and who, in turn,

[1] Most of the information on Juvaini's life is derived from the *History of the World-Conqueror* itself supplemented by the various sources gathered together by Muhammad Qazvini in his introduction to the Persian text.

[2] Hamdallah in the geographical part of his *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (tr. le Strange, 169) mentions only Shams-ad-Din, but Daulatshah in his *Memoirs of the Poets* (ed. Browne, 105) refers to Azadvar as the birthplace of both brothers.

traced his pedigree back to a freedman of 'Uthman, the third Caliph. So often had they occupied the post of *sahib-divan* or Minister of Finance that the title had become a sort of family surname; it was borne by Juvaini's brother Shams-ad-Din, who did in fact hold this office, though he was also Grand Vizier both to Hülegü and to his son and first successor Abaqa; and it was borne by Juvaini himself, who was actually governor of Baghdad.

Of Juvaini's ancestors Muntajab-ad-Din Badi', the maternal uncle of his great-grandfather, the Baha-ad-Din already mentioned, was a secretary and favourite of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq. How he intervened to save the life of the poet Vatvat, who had incurred Sanjar's displeasure by his verses, is related in the pages of Juvaini. The author's grandfather, Shams-ad-Din Muhammad, was in the service of the ill-fated Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, whom he accompanied on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur. At the end of his life the Khorazm-Shah appointed him *sahib-divan* and he was confirmed in this office by Muhammad's son, the reckless adventurer Jalal-ad-Din, whose service he entered after Muhammad's death. He died before Akhlat on the shores of Lake Van in what is now Eastern Turkey, during his master's siege of that town, which lasted, according to the historian Ibn-al-Athir, from the 12th of August, 1229, to the 18th of March, 1230. Nasawi, the secretary and biographer of Jalal-ad-Din, was the executor of Shams-ad-Din's will. In conformity with the dead man's wishes he caused his remains to be transported to his native Juvain, while his property was conveyed, through trustworthy intermediaries, to his heirs.[3]

This latter circumstance shows that his son, Baha-ad-Din, Juvaini's father, cannot have been with him at Akhlat, and in fact we know nothing of Baha-ad-Din's activities or whereabouts until some two years after his father's death when we read of his presence in Nishapur in Khorasan. He was then about 40 years of age. It seems likely that he had been living quietly on

[3] See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 324–5 (text, 195). Houdas translates Shams-ad-Din Muhammad's title (*sahib-divan*), somewhat misleadingly, as 'président du divan'.

the family estates in Juvain, at no great distance from Nishapur, of which it was a dependency.

Khorasan, which had suffered terribly during the invasion, was now in a state of utter chaos. The province was not yet completely subdued and there was still sporadic resistance to the Mongols. To add to the confusion, two adherents of Jalal-ad-Din, then but recently dead, used to make raids on the Nishapur area and kill the Mongol officials. In 1232–3 Chin-Temür, the newly appointed governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran, dispatched an officer called Kül-Bolat with instructions to expel or destroy these forces. On the news of his approach Baha-ad-Din together with certain of the leading citizens of Nishapur fled to Tus, where they sought and found sanctuary with one Taj-ad-Din Farizani, who had seized a castle in the midst of the ruined city. Meanwhile Kül-Bolat, after driving off the enemy, had learnt of the fugitives in Tus. He sent to Farizani demanding their return, and Farizani, despite the assurances he had given, at once surrendered them to Kül-Bolat, 'thinking,' says Juvaini, 'that he would put them to death'. If such was his expectation, he was disappointed. Kül-Bolat received them with every honour; and Baha-ad-Din was enrolled in the service of the Mongols. Soon Chin-Temür made him *sahib-divan* and in 1235–6 he accompanied Körgüz, an Uighur Turk then deputy to Chin-Temür, upon a mission to the Great Khan, Ögedei, the son and first successor of Chingiz-Khan. Ögedei received him very favourably: he gave him a *paiza*, Marco Polo's 'tablet of authority', and a *yarligh* or firman confirming his appointment as '*sahib-divan* of the lands'.

The return of the mission coincided with the death of Chin-Temür and Körgüz was summoned back to Mongolia to report upon the situation. He was a clever and ambitious man, and he determined to avail himself of this opportunity to advance his own cause. 'Fortune,' he said to Juvaini's father, with whom he was evidently on intimate terms, 'is like a bird. No one knows on which branch it will alight. I will make the endeavour and find out what exactly has been pre-ordained and what is required by the revolution of the heavens.' So well did

he succeed that he returned from Qara-Qorum
governor of these western territories.

In 1239, he was again in Mongolia, answering
that had been laid against him; and during his
ad-Din acted as his deputy. Again he returned i
Baha-ad-Din prepared a great feast to welcome h
having started on a third journey to Qara-Qoru
en route with the news of the Great Khan's deat
to Khorasan. But having in the course of his journ
one of the officials of the House of Chaghatai, l
afterwards arrested and taken to Almaligh near
present day Sinkiang, the residence of Qara-Hüle,
son and successor of Chaghatai, at whose orders h
put to death.

Baha-ad-Din's position was unaffected by his p
fall. He was confirmed in his office by Körg
the Emir Arghun, who now, by a decree of the
Empire, Princess Töregene, Ögedei's widow, was
ruler over an area which extended from the Oxu
included not only Khorasan and Mazandaran but
Armenia and part of Asia Minor and Upper
In the course of a tour of inspection Arghun had r
in Azerbaijan, when he received a summons
quriltai or assembly of the princes at which Güyü
Ögedei, was elected his successor as Great Khan
during his absence Juvaini's father, the *sahib-divan*
deputy over all these territories. When he returned
honours by the new Khan, Baha-ad-Din advanced
as far as Amul in Mazandaran, where he prepar
banquet to welcome his return, just as he had
predecessor Körgüz on a similar occasion some seve

Before Arghun could continue on his journey
he received news of intrigues against him in the M
and he determined to return thither without del
journey he was accompanied not only by Baha-ad-
at his express desire, by Juvaini himself, who at
about twenty-two years of age. The party had r

the present-day Jambul in Kazakhstan, when they were met with the tidings of Güyük's death, and at the advice of the Mongol general Eljigitei Arghun returned to Khorasan to organize the provisioning of the armies under Eljigitei's command. In the late summer of 1249 he again set out on the eastward journey and finally reached the *ordu* of Princess Oghul-Ghaimish, in whom, as the widow of Güyük, was vested the Regency of the Empire. His case was duly examined, his enemies discomfited and Arghun himself completely vindicated. On the homeward journey the party (of which Juvaini was one) halted for a month or two at the *ordu* of Yesü, who now ruled over the apanage of Chaghatai. It was here, near the present-day Kulja, only ten years before that Körgüz, Arghun's predecessor, had met his untimely end. The party had arrived in Almaligh in the late summer or early autumn of 1250; when they left it was winter and the roads were blocked with snow, nevertheless they made rapid progress and were soon back in Merv in Khorasan.

Arghun did not remain long in Persia. In August or September, 1251, he again set out for the East in order to be present at the great *quriltai* which had assembled to elect the new Khan. On this journey too he was accompanied by Juvaini. He had got no further than Talas when he received the news that Möngke had already been elected. It was now mid-winter and the great quantities of snow made travelling almost impossible. Nevertheless he pressed on and finally reached Besh-Baligh, the old Uighur capital, which corresponds to the modern Jimsa, a little to the north-west of Guchen in Sinkiang. From here Arghun sent on a message to inform the new Khan of his approach, but the party did not reach the Mongol Court till the 2nd May, 1252, i.e. nearly a year after Möngke's accession.

Arghun reported to the Khan on the economic situation of the Western lands and as a result of the discussions that followed Möngke instituted a number of reforms in the system of taxation. These deliberations lasted so long that it was not until August or September, 1253, that Arghun finally took his leave.[4] It was during this lengthy stay in the Mongol capital that Juvaini was

[4] See, however, ii, 598 and n. 155.

persuaded by friends to commence work on a history of the Mongol conquests. When the party set out on the homeward journey he was presented by Möngke with a *yarligh* and a *paiza* confirming his father in the office of *sahib-divan*.

Baha-ad-Din was now in his sixtieth year and after some twenty years in the Mongols' service it was his wish to retire into private life, but this was not to be. The fiscal reforms were now being put into practice, and Baha-ad-Din, together with a Mongol called Naimatai, was sent to take over the governorship of Persian Iraq, i.e. Central Persia, and Yezd. He had reached the district of Isfahan when he was taken ill and died.

It is perhaps to administrators like Baha-ad-Din that Persia owes her survival through so many troublous ages. Dynasties might rise and fall but there were always officials to be found who, by cooperating with the new régime, maintained a kind of continuity in the government of the country and saved it from falling into utter ruin and disintegration. The traditions of his ancestors under the Khorazm-Shahs, under the Seljuqs before them and perhaps under earlier dynasties also were upheld by Baha-ad-Din in a period of transition and after his death were carried on by his sons under a new dynasty, that of the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia.

The founder of that dynasty, Prince Hülegü, a younger brother of the Great Khan, was now advancing westwards at the head of an immense army, his first objective being the destruction of the Isma'ilis or Assassins of Alamut. In Kish, to the south of Samarqand, famous afterwards as the birthplace of Tamerlane, he was met by Arghun in November, 1255. Arghun had again been the victim of intrigues at Court and with Hülegü's encouragement he now set out for Qara-Qorum to defend himself against his accusers. The administration of the Western lands he entrusted, under Hülegü, to his son Kerei Malik, a certain Emir Ahmad and Juvaini. From thence onward Juvaini was to continue in the service of Hülegü and his descendants until his death.

An incident had already occurred which showed the esteem in which he was held by the Mongol conqueror. A certain

Jamal-ad-Din, who was a party to the intrigue against Arghun, had handed Hülegü a list of the officials whom he proposed to accuse before the Great Khan. Hülegü at once replied that these were matters within Arghun's own competence. Then, coming upon Juvaini's name in the list, he added: 'If there is a charge against him let it be stated in my presence so that the matter may be investigated here and now and a decision given.' Whereupon Jamal-ad-Din withdrew his accusation and retired in confusion.

The great army had now crossed the Oxus and was marching through Khorasan, where they passed by the town of Khabushan (the present-day Quchan), 'which had lain derelict and in ruins from the first incursion of the Mongol army until that year, its buildings desolate and the *qanats* without water, and no walls still standing save those of the Friday mosque'. 'Having observed the King's interest and pleasure in restoring ruins,' Juvaini drew his attention to the case of Khabushan. 'He listened to my words and issued a *yarligh* for the repairing of the *qanats*, the erection of buildings, the establishment of a bazaar, the alleviation of the people's lot and their re-assembly in the town. All the expense of re-building he met from the treasury so that no charge fell upon the people.'

Finally, in the late autumn of 1256, the Mongols converged from every side upon the Assassins' strongholds in Alamut, 'the Eagle's Nest', to the north-east of Qazvin. Rukn-ad-Din, the last feeble successor of the redoutable Hasan-i-Sabbah, had been playing for time in the hope that the snows of winter would come to his aid and render a siege impracticable; but the weather remained unseasonably mild and, in the middle of November, he decided to surrender. For this purpose he asked for a *yarligh* granting him safe-conduct and this was drawn up by Juvaini, who must also have taken part in the actual negotiations. It was Juvaini too who composed the *fath-nama* or proclamation of victory announcing the final defeat and extirpation of the Assassins. He also tells how with Hülegü's permission he examined the famous library of Alamut, from which he selected many 'choice books' whilst confiding to the flames those 'which related to their heresy and error and were neither founded on

tradition nor supported by reason'. Of these latter works, however, he fortunately preserved an autobiography of Hasan-i-Sabbah, from which he quotes large extracts in the third volume of his history.

With the destruction of Alamut accomplished Hülegü turned to his second objective, the conquest of Baghdad and the overthrow of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. How Alau, 'the Great Lord of the Tartars,' captured the city of Baudac and starved the Caliph to death in 'a tower, all full of gold, silver and other treasures' may be read in the pages of Marco Polo. In point of fact, the unfortunate Caliph was probably wrapped in a carpet and beaten to death with clubs, such being the Mongols' practice in the execution of their own princes. However, Marco Polo's version of the preliminary interview between Hülegü and the Caliph agrees very closely with the account given by the famous Persian philosopher Nasir-ad-Din Tusi, who had been in the service of the Assassins and who now accompanied Hülegü to Baghdad.

Juvaini too had accompanied the conqueror, and a year later, in 1259, Hülegü appointed him governor of all the territories that had been directly held by the Caliphs, i.e. Baghdad itself, Arab Iraq or Lower Mesopotamia and Khuzistan. Hülegü died in 1265 but under his son Abaqa Juvaini retained his position though nominally deputy to the Mongol Sughunchaq. For more than twenty years he continued to administer this great province and during this time did much to improve the lot of the peasantry. He caused a canal to be dug from Anbar on the Euphrates to Kufa and the holy city of Najaf and founded 150 villages on its banks; and it was said, with some exaggeration, that he had restored the country to greater prosperity than it had enjoyed under the Caliphs.

Neither Juvaini himself nor his brother Shams-ad-Din, who united in his person the posts of Grand Vizier and *sahib-divan*, was without his enemies, and during their long tenure of office there were several attempts to encompass their ruin. However, intrigues of this sort had left the brothers comparatively unscathed until the latter years of Abaqa's reign when a certain Majd-al-

Mulk, originally a protégé of the Juvainis, succeeded in gaining the ear, first of Arghun, Abaqa's son, and then of Abaqa himself and laid against Shams-ad-Din the usual charges of being in league with the Mongols' most formidable enemies, the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt, and of having embezzled large sums from the Treasury. Shams-ad-Din succeeded in allaying the Il-Khan's suspicions, and finding him immune from attack Majd-al-Mulk now turned his attention to his brother. He persuaded Abaqa that Juvaini, during his governorship of Baghdad, had misappropriated the enormous sum of 2,500,000 dinars and that this money was buried in his house.

In October, 1281, Abaqa was on a hunting expedition in Upper Mesopotamia intending to proceed to his winter quarters at Baghdad; and Juvaini was sent on in advance to arrange for accommodation and commissariat. No sooner was he out of sight than Majd-al-Mulk repeated the old charge, and the Il-Khan at once dispatched certain of his emirs to follow Juvaini and investigate the matter. They overtook him at Takrit and informed him of Abaqa's orders. 'I realized', says Juvaini, 'that the matter was serious, that the statements of prejudiced persons had produced a deep impression on the King's mind, and that the demand for these "residues" was merely an excuse for obtaining the money they purposed to take from me, with which money, as they vainly believed, the water-tanks in my house were filled. To be brief, I accompanied the commissioners from Takrit to Baghdad, where I handed over to them everything that was in my house and treasury, gold and silver, precious stones and plate, clothes and in short everything that I had either inherited or acquired.'[5] He then gave a declaration in writing that if thereafter so much as a *dirham* was found in his possession he should be held responsible and punished.

Learning of his predicament his brother Shams-ad-Din, who was in attendance on the Il-Khan, at once hurried to Baghdad, collected from his own and his children's houses all the gold and silver plate on which he could lay his hands, borrowed what

[5] E. G. Browne's translation. See the English introduction to Qazvini's text, xxxix–xl.

valuables he could from persons of consequence and offered all this wealth to Abaqa, who was now approaching Baghdad, in the hope of propitiating him. It was all of no avail. Juvaini was held in confinement in his house while the Mongol officials searched for the money he was supposed to have buried, torturing his servants and digging up the graves of his children and kinsmen. Finding nothing they transferred Juvaini to the Qasr Musanna to languish as a prisoner whilst they returned to report to Abaqa. However, certain of the Mongol princes and princesses, including Abaqa's favourite wife, intervened on Juvaini's behalf, and finally, on the 17th of December, 1281, the Il-Khan was persuaded to order his release.

This attempt having failed, Majd-al-Mulk now caused Juvaini to be accused of maintaining a correspondence with the Mamelukes of Egypt, and in March, 1282, he set out from Baghdad to Hamadan, in the company of the Il-Khan's commissioners in order to answer this charge before his accusers. On the 1st of April, the party having just crossed the pass of Asadabad near Hamadan, they were met by certain of Abaqa's courtiers with the good news that the Il-Khan, finally convinced of Juvaini's innocence, had restored him to favour and released his agents from custody. Upon reaching Hamadan, however, Juvaini learnt that Abaqa had just died; and in the changed circumstances it was decided to retain him in confinement. This confinement was not of long duration, for soon there came the news that Tegüder, the brother of Abaqa, a convert to Islam and known also by the Moslem name of Ahmad (he is the Acomat Soldan of Marco Polo), had succeeded to the throne and that one of his first acts had been to order Juvaini's release.

The new ruler was then in Armenia. Juvaini went to join him there and afterwards accompanied him to the *quriltai* that was held in the Ala-Taq pastures to the north-east of Lake Van, near the headwaters of the Eastern Euphrates. Here the new governors were appointed to their various provinces; and Juvaini received back his old governorship of Baghdad. Tegüder was informed of the activities of Majd-al-Mulk and his associates and ordered an investigation. Majd-al-Mulk was found guilty

:mned to death but before the sentence could be carried
/as seized and lynched by a party of Moslems and
who 'fell upon him, even wounding one another in
;gle to reach him, tore and hacked him to pieces, and
ted and ate portions of his flesh.'

:count of his own triumph and his enemy's discomfiture
: the second of two tracts in which Juvaini has described
us intrigues against himself and his brother. His own
now near at hand. There was open hostility between
uler and his nephew Arghun; and because the Juvainis
h in his uncle's favour and also because he shared the
d belief that Shams-ad-Din had poisoned his father
Arghun was determined to bring about their ruin.
Baghdad he revived the old charge of embezzlement
uvaini and began to arrest his agents and put them to
e. One of these men having recently died he caused
to be exhumed and flung upon the highway. Upon
news of this barbarity Juvaini, according to one
was seized with a violent headache from which he
terwards died. According to Dhahabi, however, his
s due to a fall from his horse. Whatever the cause, he
Mughan or Arran on the 5th of March, 1283, being
y-seven years of age, and was buried in Tabriz. His
uld not in any case have been long delayed. In the
r Arghun dethroned and succeeded his uncle; he
he execution of Shams-ad-Din and his four sons and
Juvaini family was all but extinguished.

II. HIS WORK

istory of the World-Conqueror was begun in Qara-Qorum
or 1253; and Juvaini was still working on it in 1260,
had recently been appointed governor of Baghdad. In
or soon afterwards he must have renounced the idea of
ig his history, for there are no references to events sub-
o that date. Of the conditions under which much of

his work was written we have Juvaini's own testimony. Commenting on the Mongol conquest of Khorasan he expresses himself in the following terms:

> And though there were a man free from preoccupations who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquit himself of the account of one single district. *How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer,* who, despite his inclination thereto, has not a single moment for study save when, in the course of distant journeys, he snatches an hour or two, when the caravan halts, and writes down these histories! (I, 118; i, 152).

These conditions have left their traces on the history. Dates are sometimes omitted or incorrectly given, and the author occasionally contradicts himself. Such faults are understandable in an unrevised work; they are even more so in a work which there is evidence to show was never completed.

In one early MS. (B) there is a blank equivalent to 7 or 8 lines of the text at the chapter on Arghun (II, 262; ii, 525) and a much longer blank (over a page) at the end of the chapter on Möngke's ministers (III, 89). These blanks, as Muhammad Qazvini suggests, were probably left by the author for later additions which were never made. There are also references to non-existent chapters: to one on the capture of Herat (I, 118; i, 151) in Vol. I and to at least five—one on Chinqai, Carpini's 'protonotary', (III, 58; ii, 158), one on Eljigitei, the Mongol commander who sent an embassy to Louis IX (III, 62; ii, 590), and one on each of the missions to Möngke (III, 82; ii, 602)—in Vol. III.[1] Vol. III itself is evidence of incompletion. In the original division of the text it formed the second volume of the work. The text is still so divided in at least three MSS. one of which (E) is based on a MS. contemporary with the author; and we have Juvaini's own testimony to this division in his introduction to Vol. III, where in summarizing the contents of 'the previous volume' he enumerates the events recorded in Vols. I and II of the text as found in most MSS.

[1] In the translation the three volumes of the Persian text are referred to as parts in order to avoid confusion with the two volumes into which the translation itself is divided. Small roman numerals indicate the volumes of the translation.

and in the printed edition. In such a division of the text the second volume is much smaller than the first, but they might well have been equal in size, if the five chapters referred to above had actually been written and if Juvaini—as one would have expected—had closed his work with an account of the culmination of Hülegü's campaign against the West, the sack of Baghdad and the extinction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, an event which he survived by some twenty-seven years. 'Perhaps', as Qazvini suggests, 'the exacting duties of the governorship of Baghdad . . . allowed him no leisure for the continuance of his great history.'[2]

His work, to quote Barthold, 'has not yet been valued at its deserts',[3] and in the West at least Juvaini has been overshadowed by the later Rashid-ad-Din, considerable parts of whose enormous compilation, 'a vast historical encyclopedia, such as no single people, either in Asia or in Europe, possessed in the Middle Ages',[4] have long been available in European translations. Rashid-ad-Din was able to draw upon Mongol sources inaccessible to Juvaini; his account of the early life of Chingiz-Khan is infinitely fuller and more detailed than the earlier historian's. On the other hand Juvaini lived much nearer to the events he describes, and much of his account of the invasion must be based upon reports of eye-witnesses. For the history of Persia between the invasion and the expedition of Hülegü he could rely upon his father's reminiscences and his own recollections; and in the end, he became, as we have seen, himself a participant in events. It is significant that Rashid-ad-Din, in dealing with the history of this period, is usually content to follow his predecessor almost word for word. Juvaini enjoyed the further advantage of having twice visited Eastern Asia. Most of his information regarding the Turks and Mongols must have been gathered at the courts of the Mongol princes and in the course of his journeys thither; and the accuracy of his data may be tested by comparison not only with Rashid-ad-Din but also with

[2] See the English introduction to Vol. I of Qazvini's text, lxiii–lxiv.
[3] Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 40.
[4] *Ibidem*, 46.

the works of Western travellers such as Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo and with the Chinese and native Mongolian sources.

The *History of the World-Conqueror* at once became the great authority on the Mongol invasions and as such was freely utilized by both contemporary and subsequent historians, Arab and Persian. In Pococke's Latin translation of Barhebraeus (Oxford, 1663) parts of Juvaini became accessible, at second hand, to Western scholars also. His work was not, however, directly used in Europe until the 19th century with the appearance of Baron d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguis-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (1st edition 1824, 2nd edition 1834–5), which still provides the best, and certainly the most readable, survey of the whole Mongol period. D'Ohsson was unfortunately obliged to work on an indifferent manuscript, the only one then in the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale (now the Bibliothèque Nationale), which afterwards acquired the excellent MSS. on which Qazvini's text is based. Since d'Ohsson, Barthold, in his *Turkestan*, is the only historian who has made extensive use of Juvaini's work in the original, but being concerned only with the events that culminated in the actual invasion he does not touch upon the history of the Empire under Chingiz-Khan's successors. In the English edition of his work he was able to consult the first two volumes of Qazvini's monumental edition of the Persian text; but it was not until the publication of Vol. III in 1937 that the whole of Juvaini became accessible even to Orientalists. It is now presented, in an English translation, to a wider circle of readers.

Much is inevitably lost in translation. Unlike the later Rashid-ad-Din, whose language is plain and simple in the extreme, Juvaini was a master of what was already the traditional style of Persian prose literature. It is a style which disposes of all the rhetorical devices known to the Euphuists. Word-plays are indulged in, whenever possible, and these are not merely puns as we understand them but what might be called *visual* puns, which appeal to the eye only, two words being identical in shape though perhaps entirely dissimilar in pronunciation.

The text is interlarded with quotations from the Arabic and Persian poets, with verses of the author's own composition and with passages from the Koran; and the chapters begin and end or are interrupted in the middle with reflections on such subjects as the vanity of human wishes or the inexorability of Fate. However, Juvaini was a man of taste; he had his rhetoric under some measure of control and could, when the occasion demanded it, tell his tale in the plainest and most straightforward language. In this he differed from his admirer and continuator Vassaf, who has been described as being 'so ornate in style that one cannot see the wood for the trees'.[5] 'We could forgive the author', says E. G. Browne, 'more readily if his work were less valuable as an original authority on the period (1257–1328) of which it treats, but in fact it is as important as it is unreadable.'[6] In Juvaini, on the other hand, there is often a point concealed even in what appears to be mere ornament. By quoting, for example, from the *Shahnama* or 'Book of Kings', the National Epic, he was able to give vent to feelings which it would have been impossible openly to avow.

III. HIS POINT OF VIEW

Ibn-al-Athir, in the preface to his account of the Mongol invasion, of which he was a contemporary, remarks that for years he had shrunk from mentioning that event as being too horrible to record. It was, he protested, the greatest calamity that had ever befallen mankind.[1] Juvaini, who was actually in the Mongols' service, could hardly be expected to echo such sentiments, and in fact he says much in his masters' praise and even attempts to justify the invasion as the fulfilment of the divine will. On the other hand, he was a devout and orthodox Mohammedan, and his real feelings cannot have been materially different from those of Ibn-al-Athir. Moreover, in Juvaini's

[5] E. Denison Ross, *The Persians*, 128.

[6] *A Literary History of Persia*, III, 68.

[1] For a translation of the whole passage see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 427–8.

case, there were traditional ties with the house of the Khorazm-Shahs—his grandfather as we have seen, had accompanied Muhammad on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur and had ended his days in the service of Muhammad's son, Jalal-ad-Din —and he can hardly have looked back without regret upon the extinction of that dynasty. In fact, Juvaini, though denied the freedom of expression enjoyed by Ibn-al-Athir, is at no great pains to conceal his preference of the Moslem past to the Mongol present.

*   *   *

On the invasion itself he could of course express no opinion, but the wholesale massacres to which so many of the captured cities were subjected are always faithfully recorded together with all the accompanying atrocities. It is Juvaini too who tells the famous story of Chingiz-Khan in the mosque of Bokhara (I, 80–1; i, 103–4). Of the consequences of the invasion he speaks at times with the utmost frankness. He twice refers to the condition of hopeless desolation to which the conquerors had reduced his homeland, the once flourishing province of Khorasan (I, 75 and II, 269; i, 96–7, ii, 533). He also refers to the disastrous effects upon the pursuit of learning and then launches a bitter attack upon the new generation of officials, the product of a great social upheaval (I, 4–5; i, 6–8). To one member of this class, Sharaf-ad-Din of Khorazm, he devotes a whole chapter (II, 262–82; ii, 525–46), in which he paints him in the blackest of colours and assails him with the coarsest of abuse. Sharaf-ad-Din, the son of a porter, had accompanied Chin-Temür from Khorazm to Khorasan at a time when 'no reputable scribe' was willing to undertake the journey because 'it was intended to lay waste a Moslem country'. He owed his advancement to his knowledge of the Turkish language (II, 268; ii, 532). Another official received his appointment because he could write Mongolian in the Uighur character, which, as Juvaini sarcastically adds, 'is in the present age, the essence of learning and proficiency' (II, 260; ii, 523).

The Mongols themselves, if one disregards one or two oppro-

brious references,[2] are never openly attacked, but there is perhaps an undertone of irony, and therefore of disapproval, in the various allusions to their addiction to strong drink. Ögedei, for example, is made to offer an apology for his inebriety. It was due, he said, to 'the onslaught of sorrow which arises from grievous separation.' He therefore chose to be drunk in order to find relief from that sorrow (III, 4; ii, 550). The 'grievous separation' he referred to was the loss of his brother Tolui, who, according to Juvaini, had drunk himself to death (III, 4; ii, 549).

But the real state of Juvaini's feelings is most clearly revealed in the attitude he adopts towards the defeated Khorazm-Shahs. Muhammad is frequently criticized. His conquests are shown to have paved the way for the Mongol invasion (I, 52; i, 70). His campaigns against the Qara-Khitai, in particular, were undertaken without regard to a warning that this people formed 'a great wall' between the Moslems and 'fierce enemies' and ought therefore to be left in peace (II, 79 and 89; i, 347, 357). Having removed every obstacle in the way of the Mongol invasion he renders that invasion inevitable by commanding the execution of Chingiz-Khan's ambassadors (I, 61; i, 79). When the storm finally breaks, he is seized with panic and decides to disperse his forces and seek safety in flight; and his son Jalal-ad-Din is made to deliver a speech in which he strongly protests against the cowardice of such a policy and volunteers to lead the armies in person against the invader (II, 127; ii, 397). Muhammad, in short, is blamed for having needlessly provoked the Mongol invasion but also for having abjectly failed to repel it. Juvaini's attitude, in fact, is that of the disappointed partisan; and only a partisan could write that Islam was heartbroken and the very stones wept tears of blood because of Muhammad's death (II, 117; ii, 387).

Towards Muhammad's son, Jalal-ad-Din, Juvaini's attitude is one of unreserved admiration. He is presented everywhere as a figure of great physical courage. In the clash with Jöchi,

[2] II, 133 (ii, 403) ('Tartar devils') and 275 (539) ('strangers to religion'); III, 141 (ii, 640) ('their [the Isma'ilis'] *Maulana* . . . has become the serf of bastards').

before the outbreak of hostilities, he rescues his father who was in danger of being taken prisoner, and Juvaini vents his feelings in an apposite verse from the *Shahnama* (I, 51–2; i, 69). As he plunges into the Indus after the final charge against the Mongols, the words of admiration are made to proceed from the lips of Chingiz-Khan himself (I, 107; i, 134–5). And again Juvaini quotes from the *Shahnama*, comparing Jalal-ad-Din with Rustam, the mythical hero of the Iranians. Such quotations are not of course fortuitous; by this device Juvaini is able to identify the Khorazm-Shahs with Iran and the Mongols with Turan, the hereditary foe.[3]

* * *

But not every allusion is hostile. There are passages in which Juvaini speaks of the Mongols in terms of high praise; and there is usually no reason for doubting his sincerity. It is clear, for example, that he had a genuine admiration for the military genius of Chingiz-Khan, of whom Alexander himself, he says, would have been content to be a pupil (I, 16–17; i, 24). He expatiates with enthusiasm on the efficiency of the Mongol army, its powers of endurance and its excellent discipline; and he compares it in these respects with the forces of Islam, very much to the latter's disadvantage (I, 21–3; i, 29–31). He praises the Mongol princes for the spirit of harmony that prevailed amongst them and here again contrasts their behaviour with that of the Moslems (I, 30–2 and III, 68; i, 41–3, ii, 594). He commends them also for their informality and avoidance of ceremonial (I, 19; i, 26–7). Despite his strong Mohammedan prejudices he speaks with apparent approval of their tolerance in matters of religion (I, 18–19; i, 26). And finally he has much to say of their protection and patronage of the Moslems.

Several of the anecdotes[4] in the chapter 'On the deeds and actions of Qa'an' are concerned with the kindness shown by

[3] Cf. II, 136 and 139 (ii, 406, 409), where by this means Chingiz-Khan is likened to Afrasiyab, and I, 73 (i, 95), where a quotation from the *Shahnama* serves to illustrate Temür Malik's boasting about his victories over the 'Turanian host'.

[4] See I, 161, 163, 179, etc. (i, 204, 206, 223, etc.).

the jovial, good-natured Ögedei to Mohammedans in distress. Of Ögedei's nephew, Möngke, during whose reign the *History of the World-Conqueror* was written, it is stated that 'of all the sects and communities he most honoured and respected the people of Islam, upon whom he bestowed the most alms and conferred the greatest privileges' (III, 79). And Juvaini speaks of him at times in terms hardly distinguishable from those applied to Moslem rulers (I, 85 and 195; i, 109, 239). He even confers upon him the exclusively Mohammedan title of *ghazi* or 'victor against the infidel' with reference to his execution of a group of Uighur nobles who had plotted, amongst other things, to massacre the Moslem population of Besh-Baligh (III, 61; ii, 589). Möngke's mother, too, Princess Sorqoqtani, is praised not only for her probity and administrative ability, but also for her patronage of Islam: though a Christian she would bestow alms upon Moslem divines and had provided a large sum for the endowment of a *madrasa* or theological college in Bokhara (III, 8–9; ii, 552–3).

* * *

It was not however sufficient to record the good qualities of the Mongol invaders; as an official in their service, Juvaini had to justify the invasion itself. This he has done by representing the Mongols as the instrument of the divine will.

He compares the invasion with the punishments visited on earlier peoples for their disobedience to God and in support of this analogy adduces a *hadith* or tradition of Mohammed to the effect that the destruction of the Moslems was to be by the sword (I, 12; i, 17). Another *hadith* refers to the horsemen whom God will send to exact vengeance on the wicked; and nothing is easier than to identify these horsemen with the Mongols (I, 17; i, 24). And to drive the point home, the Conqueror himself, in a speech directed to the people of Bokhara, is made to declare that he is the scourge of God (I, 81; i, 105).

This divine mission of the Mongols was particularly manifest in their destruction of the foes of Islam. Thus it was God who dispatched them against Küchlüg, the Naiman ruler of

Qara-Khitai, who had crucified a Moslem divine upon of his *madrasa* (I, 55; i, 73); and the people of Kashgh: the Mongols had expelled their persecutor and restored of worship, perceived 'the existence of this people to b the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divin (I, 50; i, 67). God's purpose was also revealed in I capture of the Isma'ili stronghold of Alamut, which compares with the conquest of Khaibar, i.e. the P defeat and extermination of his Jewish adversaries at near Medina (III, 138; ii, 638).

But their mission was not merely negative; their cc actually had the effect of extending the boundaries o The transportation of craftsmen, saved by their skill f fate of their fellow townsmen, to new homes in Easter and the thronging of merchants to the new capital a Qorum had introduced a Moslem population to reg which the True Faith had never penetrated (I, 9; i, 1

Even the massacres were a blessing from God; for manner of their death the slaughtered millions achie status and enjoyed the privileges of martyrs to the Faith i, 15). And here at least we may question Juvaini's and share the indignation expressed by d'Ohsson at ar 'faits pour démontrer que c'est pour le bien des Mu qu les Mongols sont venus les égorger'.

* * *

How is one to reconcile these seeming contradictions- one hand, the candid recital of Mongol atrocities, the for the extinction of learning, the thinly veiled criti the conquerors and the open admiration of their van opponents; and on the other hand, the praise of institutions and Mongol rulers and the justification of the as an act of divine grace? The contradictions are, h apparent only. Juvaini's sympathies did indeed lie v defeated dynasty; he had been brought up in the trad the Perso-Arabian civilization which the Mongols had destroyed; and in these circumstances he could scarce

whole-hearted supporter of the new régime. But the old order was dead and gone; there was no hope of its resuscitation; and it was necessary to reach some kind of compromise. Without therefore glossing over the darker side of the picture Juvaini says whatever he truthfully can in the Mongols' favour. He extols their military and social virtues and rightly attributes the Moslems' defeat to the neglect of those virtues. He makes much of their destruction of anti-Moslem forces such as the Buddhist Qara-Khitayans and the heretic Isma'ilis. He stresses the favourable attitude adopted by certain of the Mongols (and it is to be noted that in this respect he speaks only of specific individuals) towards the Mohammedan religion. And finally he endeavours to prove that the Mongol invasion was foreshadowed in the traditions of Mohammed and that it was in consequence a manifestation of the divine will. These theological arguments may not always carry conviction, but their object is clearly to reconcile the author and his readers to the inevitable. In short, Juvaini is a Moslem raised in the pre-Mongol tradition striving to adapt himself to the new conditions but everywhere betraying the prejudices and predilections of his upbringing.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, Etc.

In a translation intended primarily for the general reader I have simplified the spelling of Oriental words by dispensing with the diacritical marks conventionally employed to indicate the precise Persian or Arabic orthography. For the same reason I have adopted such Anglicized forms as 'vizier', 'cadi' and 'emir' in preference to *wazīr (vazīr)*, *qāḍī (qāẓī)* and *amīr*. The Holy Book of Islam is called the Koran rather than the Qur'ān and the Prophet to whom it was revealed Mohammed rather than Muhammad, the form Muhammad being reserved for all other bearers of the name.

On the other hand it is often desirable, in the interests of the specialist, to indicate the exact spelling of words (and in particular names) in the Arabic character. In the case of Persian and Arabic words this end has been achieved by spelling them in the index in strict accordance with a system of transliteration which is basically that approved by the Royal Asiatic Society. The same system is employed in the case of words enclosed in round brackets in the text of the translation; it is also employed, though with less rigid consistency, in the footnotes. In the text itself, as has already been stated, the diacritical marks are omitted. Also the spellings Khorazm, Khoja and Khaf have been adopted in place of the more correct Khwārazm, Khwāja and Khwāf.

Sometimes, as for example in discussing a corrupt spelling in the Persian original, it is difficult to dispense with the use of the Arabic script. As a substitute for that script I have resorted to an alphabet of capital letters which differs from the system of transliteration otherwise employed in that *alif* is always rendered by A, *wāw* by W and *yā* by Y; that Ā denotes *alif mamdūda* only; and that J̌, Č, X, Ž, Š and Γ are equivalent to *j, ch, kh, zh, sh* and *gh* respectively. The omission of diacritical points is indicated in two ways. When the loss of the dot or dots makes the Arabic letter identical with another letter of the same shape,

the Roman equivalent of that other letter is written. Thus QRDWAN represents a corruption of QŽDWAN (Qizhduvān), the omission of the three dots over the *zhā* making it identical with *rā*. When however there is no undotted letter of identical shape the corrupt spelling is indicated by means of italics, the letter in italics being either the Roman equivalent of the letter that appears to be meant or else any letter of the required shape chosen at random. An example or two will make this use of italics clear. In S*Y*ALAN (for SYALAN, i.e. Siyālān) the two dots beneath the *yā* have been omitted and it could equally well be read as any other letter of the same shape. In K*N*ḤK (for KNJ̌K, i.e. Kenchek) the dot over the *nūn* has been lost and there is a similar ambiguity. (The dot beneath the *jīm*—here equivalent to *chīm*—has also been lost but this is shown by the use of Ḥ, i.e. the corresponding undotted letter.) A more complicated example is *YY*Q*A*Q. Here *YY* (or *BB* etc.) is actually a corruption of Š, the first Q could equally well be written *F*, the final Q is a corruption of N and the whole is a corruption of ŠQAN, i.e. Shuqān!

The same system is used to indicate the Arabic spelling of Turkish and Mongol words. This is done in the footnotes upon their first occurrence in the text. The Perso-Arabic alphabet is of course incapable of adequately reproducing all the Turkish and Mongol vowel sounds although by the use of the hard and soft consonants and of *alif*, *wāw* and *yā* as *matres lectionis* it can give some approximate idea of the pronunciation. Following such indications I have spelt all Turkish and Mongol words in the text, the footnotes and the index as far as possible in accordance with the phonetic laws of the two languages. No distinction is made however between Turkish *ä* and *e* (*é*), both being represented by *e*. Similarly the distinction between *i* and *ï* is ignored in the text though it is always observed in the notes and index, not only in the case of Turkish words but also in the case of Mongol words when the Arabic spelling indicates that the old pronunciation still survived.

In quoting Far Eastern sources I have spelt Mongol words according to the system of the late Professor Pelliot, with some

slight modifications, whilst for Chinese I have used the Wade-Giles method of transcription.

The Armenian alphabet is transliterated as follows:

a b g d e z ē ə tʿ zh i l kh ts k h dz gh ch
m y n sh o chʿ p j ṙ s v t r tsʿ w pʿ kʿ ō f.

Arabic phrases and passages in the original appear in the translation in italics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

WORKS QUOTED IN THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

ABBOTT, J., *Sind: a re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, Oxford, 1924.

'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Kiya: W. Hinz, ed., *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä des 'Abdollah ibn Muhammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī*, Wiesbaden, 1952.

ALLEN, W. E. D., *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932.

ARBERRY, A. J. See Omar Khayyam and Sa'di.

ATALAY, B. See Kashghari.

Baihaqi, Abul-Fazl: Ghani and Fayyaz, ed., *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqi*, Tehran, 1324/1945–6.

Barhebraeus: E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. and tr., *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Hebrew Physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus*, 2 vols., Oxford and London, 1932; A. Salihani, ed., *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar ad-duwal*, Beirut, 1890.

BARTHOLD, W., *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1945.

—— *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, (GMS, New Series, V), London, 1928.

BENEDETTO, L. F. See Marco Polo.

BEREZIN, I. N. See Rashid-ad-Din.

Biruni: R. Ramsay Wright, ed. and tr., *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology by Abu'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*, London, 1934.

BLOCHET, E. See Rashid-ad-Din.

BOWEN, H., 'The *sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā*, the "Tale of the Three School-fellows" and the *wasaya* of the Niẓām al-Mulk', *JRAS*, 1931.

—— See also GIBB and BOWEN.

BOYLE, J. A., 'Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy* of Juvaynī', *BSOAS*, XIV/1 (1952).

—— '*Iru* and *Maru* in the *Secret History of the Mongols*', *HJAS*, 17 (1954).

—— 'On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes', *HJAS*, 19 (1956).

BRETSCHNEIDER, E., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 2 vols., London, 1888.

BROCKELMANN, C. See Kashghari.

BROWNE, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols., London, 1902 and 1906, and Cambridge, 1920 and 1924.

—— *A Year amongst the Persians* (3rd ed.), Cambridge, 1950.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carpini: C. R. Beazley, ed. in *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis*, London, 1900; A. van den Wyngaert, ed. in *Sinica Franciscana I*, Quaracchi, 1929; W. W. Rockhill, tr. in *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, London, 1900.

CLEAVES, F. W., 'The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant', *HJAS*, 18 (1955).

—— 'The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran', *HJAS*, 16 (1953).

—— 'The Mongolian Names and Terms in the *History of the Nation of the Archers* by Grigor of Akanc',' *HJAS*, 12 (1949).

—— Review of E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, *HJAS*, 12 (1949).

—— See also MOSTAERT and CLEAVES and the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

CORBIN, H. See Nasir-i-Khusrau.

CORDIER, H., *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda to Sir Henry Yule's Edition*, London, 1920.

CURZON, LORD, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 2 vols., London, 1892.

Daulatshah; E. G. Browne, ed., *The Tadhkhirátu 'sh-Shu'ará*, London, 1901.

DEFRÉMERY, M. C., 'Documents sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batiniens de la Perse, plus connus sous le nom d'Assassins', *JA*, 1860, I.

—— 'Essai sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batiniens de la Perse, plus connus sous le nom d'Assassins', *JA*, 1856, II.

EGHBAL, A. See Tha'alibi.

ELIAS, N. See Muhammad Haidar.

ELLIOT, Sir H. M. E., and DOWSON, J., *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., London, 1867–77.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 4 vols., Leiden, 1913–36.

Firdausi: T. Macan, ed., *The Shah Nameh; an heroic poem*, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1829; J. Mohl, ed. and tr., *Le Livre des Rois*, 7 vols., Paris, 1838–78; J. A, Vullers, ed., *Firdusii Liber Regum qui inscribitur Schahname*, 3 vols., Leiden, 1877–84.

FRANKE, O., *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, 5 vols., Berlin, 1930–52.

FRAZER, SIR J. G., *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), 12 vols., London, 1911–15.

GABAIN, A. VON, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (2nd ed.), Berlin, 1950.

GIBB, SIR H. A. R., and BOWEN, H., *Islamic Society and the West, Vol. I, Part I*, London, 1950.

GIBBON, E., *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. Bury), 7 vols., 1900.

Grigor of Akner: R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, ed. and tr., 'The History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'', *HJAS*, 12 (1949).

GRØNBECH, K., *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Copenhagen, 1942.

GROUSSET, R., *Le Conquérant du Monde*, Paris, 1944.

—— *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris, 1939.

—— *L'Empire Mongol*, Paris, 1941.

—— *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071*, Paris, 1947.

HAENISCH, E., 'Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung', *Asia Major*, IX (1933).
— See also the *Secret History of the Mongols*.
HAIG, SIR W., *Turks and Afghans* (Vol. III of the *Cambridge History of India)*, Cambridge, 1928.
HAMBIS, L., *La Haute-Asie*, Paris, 1953.
— See also the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* and the *Yüan shih*.
Hamdallah: G. le Strange, tr., *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)* (GMS, Old Series, XXIII/2), London, 1919.
— J. Stephenson, ed. and tr., *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī*, London, 1928.
HAMILTON, J. R., *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties d'après les documents chinois*, Paris, 1955.
HINZ, W., 'Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert', *Die Welt des Orients*, 1949.
— See also 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Kiya.
HODGSON, M. G. S., *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague, 1955.
HOLDICH, SIR T., *The Gates of India*, London, 1910.
HOUTSMA, M. T., *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894.
HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, A., *Eastern Persian Irak*, London, 1897.
HOWORTH, SIR H. H., *History of the Mongols*, 4 vols., London, 1876-1927.
Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, an anonymous Persian treatise on geography, translated into English with Commentary by V. Minorsky (GMS, New Series, XI), London, 1937.
HUNG, W., 'Three of Ch'ien Ta-hsin's Poems on Yüan History', *HJAS*, 19 (1956).

Ibn-al-Athir: C. J. Tornberg, ed., *Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon, quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, 14 vols., Leiden, 1851–76.
Ibn-al-Balkhi: G. le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, ed., *The Fársnáma of Ibnu 'l-Balkhī* (GMS, New Series, I), London, 1921.
Ibn-Isfandiyar: E. G. Browne, tr., *An Abridged Translation of the History of Ṭabaristán compiled about A.H. 613 (A.D. 1216) by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár* (GMS, Old Series, II), London, 1905.
Imperial Gazetteer of India, 26 vols., Oxford, 1907–9.
IVANOW, W., *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden, 1948.
— See also the *Kalām-i-Pīr*.

Juvaini: Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, ed., *The Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-Gushá of 'Alá'u 'd-Dín 'Aṭá-Malik-i-Juwayní*, 3 vols., (GMS, Old Series, XVI/1, 2, 3), London, 1912, 1916 and 1937; Sir E. D. Ross ed., *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwayni, Volume III* (facsimile of a MS.), London, 1931; Fraser 154 and Ouseley Add. 44 (MSS. in the Bodleian). (Qazvini has distinguished the various MSS. on which his edition is based by means of the Arabic letters in their *abjad* or numerical order. These have been represented in the footnotes to the translation by Roman capitals in the ordinary alphabetical order. Thus A denotes Qazvini's MS. *alif*, C his MS. *jīm*, G his MS. *zain*, and so

tion. The three volumes of Qazvini's edition—called 'Parts' in the translation—are referred to in the footnotes by means of capital Roman numerals, whilst small Roman numerals indicate the two volumes of the translation itself.)

Juzjani: W. Nassau Lees, ed., *The Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Calcutta, 1864; H. G. Raverty, tr., *The Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri*, London, 1881.

Kalām-i-Pir: W. Ivanow, ed. and tr., *Kalami Pir*, Bombay, 1935.

Kashghari: B. Atalay, tr., *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi*, 3 vols., Ankara, 1939–41; C. Brockelmann, tr., *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšyaris Divān Luγāt at-Turk*, Budapest and Leipzig, 1928.

Khaqani: A. 'Abdorrasuli, ed., *Divān*, Tehran, 1316/1937–8.

KHETAGUROV, L. A.: See Rashid-ad-Din.

Kirakos of Gandzak: *Kirakosi Vardapeti Gandzakets'woy Hamarōt Patmut'iwn*, Venice, 1865.

Koran: J. M. Rodwell, tr., *The Koran* (Everyman's Library), London, 1909. (In translations from the Koran Rodwell's version has usually been followed except in cases where the context required a different wording.)

KRAUSE, F. E. A. See the *Yüan shih*.

LAMBTON, ANN K. S., *Islamic Society in Persia* (Inaugural Lecture), London, 1954.

LANE-POOLE, S., *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, 1901.

—— *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, London, 1894.

LE STRANGE, G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905.

LEVY, R., 'The Account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah', *JRAS*, 1930.

LEWIS, B., *The Origins of Ismā'ilism*, Cambridge, 1940.

—— 'Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam', *Studia Islamica*, I (1953).

Li Chih-ch'ang: A. Waley, tr., *The Travels of an Alchemist*, London, 1931.

MARQUART (MARKWART), J., 'Čuwayni's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uighuren', *SPAW*, 1912.

—— *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* in Bang-Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin, 1914.

—— *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden, 1938.

MARTIN, H. D., 'The Mongol Wars with Hsi Hsia (1205–27)', *JRAS*, 1942.

—— *The Rise of Chingis Khan and his Conquest of North China*, Baltimore, 1950.

Marvazi: V. Minorsky, ed. and tr., *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London, 1942.

Mas'udi: *Maçoudi: Les Prairies d'Or*; texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols., Paris, 1861–77.

MINORSKY, V., 'Caucasica III: The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns', *BSOAS*, XIV 2 (1952).

—— 'A Civil and Military Review in Fars in 881/1474', *BSOS* X (1940–2).

—— 'A *Soyūrghāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngir Aq-Qoyunlu', *BSOS*, IX (1937–9).

—— *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953.

MINORSKY, V., 'Transcaucasica', *JA*, 1930, II.
—— 'The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj', *BSOS*, X (1940–2).
—— See also the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Marvazi, MINOVI and MINORSKY and VERNADSKY.
MINOVI, M., and MINORSKY, V., 'Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance,' *BSOS*, X (1940–2).
MOSTAERT, A., 'Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,' *HJAS*, 13 (1950).
MOSTAERT, A., and CLEAVES, F. W., 'Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,' *HJAS*, 15 (1952).
Muhammad Haidar: N. Elias, ed., and E. D. Ross, tr., *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát*, London, 1895.

Nasawi: O. Houdas, ed. and tr., *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, 2 vols., Paris, 1891–5.
Nasir-i-Khusrau: M. Minovi, ed., *Dīvān*, Tehran, 1304–7/1925–8.
—— H. Corbin and M. Mo'in, ed., *Kitâb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain*, Tehran and Paris, 1953.
NICHOLSON, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs*, London, 1907.

Odoric, Friar: A. van den Wyngaert, ed. in *Sinica Franciscana I*, Quaracchi, 1929; Sir H. Yule, tr. in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, London, 1913.
D'OHSSON, C., *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (2nd. ed.), 4 vols., The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834–5.
OMAN, SIR C., *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (2nd. ed.), 2 vols., London, 1924.
Omar Khayyam: A. J. Arberry, ed. and tr., *The Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām*, London, 1949; E. H. Whinfield, ed. and tr., *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám*, London, 1883.

PELLIOT, P., 'À propos des Comans', *JA*, 1920, I.
—— 'Les Mongols et la Papauté', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIII (1922–3), XXIV (1924) and XXVIII (1931–2). (The references are to the page numbers of the *tirage-à-part.)*
—— 'Les mots a *h* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIII[e] et XIV[e] siècles', *JA*, 1925, I.
—— 'Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale', *TP*, 1929.
—— 'Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold', *TP*, 1930.
—— *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1950.
—— 'Sur un passage du *Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*', *Ts'ai Yuan P'ei Anniversary Volume* (Supplementary Volume I of the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica)*, Peking, 1934.
—— 'Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols', *JA*, 1927, I.
—— 'Le vrai nom de Seroctan', *TP*, 1932.
—— See also the *Secret History* and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*.
Polo, Marco: L. F. Benedetto, tr., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, London, 1931; Sir H. Yule, tr., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (3rd. ed.), 2 vols., 1903.
PRESCOTT, W. H., *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (ed. Kirk), London, 1889.

QUATREMÈRE, E. See Rashid-ad-Din.

RABINO, H. L., *Mázandarán and Astarábád* (GMS, New Series, VII), London, 1928.
RADLOFF, W., *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, St. Petersburg, 1895.
—— *Das Kudaktu Bilig, Theil I*, St. Petersburg, 1891.
RADLOFF, W., and MALOV, S. E., *Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad, 1928.
Rashid-ad-Din: I. N. Berezin, ed. and tr., 'Sbornik letopisei', *VOIAO*, V (1858), VII (1861), XIII (1868) and XV (1888); E. Blochet, ed., *Djami et-Tévarikh* (GMS, Old Series, XVIII), London, 1912; A. A. Khetagurov, tr., *Sbornik letopisei, I, 1*, Moscow, 1952; E. Quatremère, ed. and tr., *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris, 1836; O. I. Smirnova, tr., *Sbornik letopisei, I, 2*, Moscow, 1952; Add. 7628 (British Museum MS.).
Ravandi: Muhammad Iqbal, ed., *The Ráhat-uṣ-Ṣudúr wa Áyat-us-Surúr* (GMS, New Series, II), London, 1921.
RAVERTY, H. G. See Juzjani.
ROBERTSON, D. S., 'A Forgotten Persian Poet of the Thirteenth Century', *JRAS*, 1951.
ROCKHILL, W. W. See Rubruck.
ROSS, SIR E. D., *The Persians*, Oxford, 1931.
—— See also Juvaini and Muhammad Haidar.
Rubruck: W. W. Rockhill, tr., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, London, 1900; A. van den Wyngaert, ed. in *Sinica Franciscana I*, Quaracchi, 1929.

Sa'di: A. J. Arberry, tr., *Kings and Beggars*, London, 1945; Muhammad 'Ali Furughi, ed., *Būstān-i-Sa'di*, Tehran, 1316/1937–8.
SCHLEGEL, G., 'Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uighurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun', *Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, 1896.
Secret History of the Mongols. F. W. Cleaves, tr., *The Secret History of the Mongols, Volume I (Translation)*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957; E. Haenisch, tr., *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (2nd. ed.), Leipzig, 1948; P. Pelliot, ed. and tr., *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Paris, 1949.
Shahnama. See Firdausi.
Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu: P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, ed. and tr., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden, 1951.
SMIRNOVA, O. I. See Rashid-ad-Din.
SPULER, B., *Die Mongolen in Iran* (2nd. ed.), Berlin, 1955.
—— *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig, 1943.
STARK, Freya, *The Valleys of the Assassins and Other Persian Travels*, London, 1934.

Tha'alibi: A. Eghbal, ed., *Tatimmatul-Yatimah*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1934.
TURNER, Samuel, *Siberia: a Record of Travel, Climbing and Exploration*, London, 1905.

Vardan: *Vardanay Vardapeti Hawak'umn Patmut'ean*, Venice, 1862.
Vassaf: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, ed. and tr., *Geschichte Wassaf's*, Vienna, 1856; *Kitāb-i-mustaṭāb-i-Vaṣṣāf* (lithographed ed.), Bombay, 1269/1852–3.

VERNADSKY, G., *Ancient Russia,* New Haven, 1943.
—— 'Juwaini's Version of Chingis Khan's *yasa*', *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov,* XI (1939).
—— *The Mongols and Russia,* New Haven, 1953.
—— *O sostave velikoi yasï Chingis khana,* Brussels, 1939. (Contains a translation by Professor Minorsky of Juvaini's chapter on the *yasas* of Chingiz-Khan.)
VLADIMIRTSOV, B., *Gengis-Khan,* Paris, 1948.
—— *Le régime social des Mongols,* Paris, 1948.

WALEY, A. See Li Chih-ch'ang.
WHINFIELD, E. H. See Omar Khayyam.
WITTFOGEL, K. A., and FÊNG, CHIA-SHÊNG, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125),* Philadelphia, 1949.
WOLFF, O., *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren,* Breslau, 1872.
WOOD, J., *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Sources of the River Oxus,* London, 1841.
WRIGHT, R. RAMSAY. See Biruni.
WYNGAERT, A. VAN DEN. See Carpini, Odoric and Rubruck.

YAQUT: F. Wüstenfeld, ed., *Mu'ğam al buldân,* 6 vols., Leipzig, 1866–72.
Yüan shih: L. Hambis, ed. and tr., *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che,* Leiden, 1945; *Le chapitre CVIII du Yuan che,* Leiden, 1954; F. E. A. Krause, tr., *Cingis Han,* Heidelberg, 1922. (The translations supplied by Professor Cleaves are from the *Po-na-pen* edition of the text.)
YULE, SIR H., *Cathay and the Way Thither* (ed. Cordier), 4 vols., London, 1915–16.
—— See also Odoric and Polo.

ZAMBAUR, E. DE, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam,* 2 vols., Hanover, 1927.

ABBREVIATIONS

BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
BSOS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.*
Campagnes: *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan.* See the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu.*
GMS: Gibb Memorial Series.
HJAS: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
Horde d'Or: *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or.* See Pelliot.
JA: *Journal Asiatique.*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
M.Q.: Muhammad Qazvini.
SPAW: *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
TP: *T'oung Pao.*
V.M.: Vladimir Minorsky.
VOIAO: *(Trudï) Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva.*

THE HISTORY OF
THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

[DOXOLOGY]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Thanksgiving and praise unto Him Whom men worship, Who is necessarily existent; unto Him before Whom men prostrate themselves, Whose existence bestoweth the lights of wisdom and munificence: He is the Maker, and the proof of His oneness lieth in each of the atoms of created things; He is the Protector, and the purpose of the diversity of tongues and qualities is to give thanks for His strange and wonderful works; He is the Provider, and at His table, because of His divinity, monotheist and atheist *(mulḥid)* are as one; He is the Creator, and the known inventions of His nature are but one tale of the perfection of His power; He is mighty, and in praise of His countless blessings the melodious nightingale singeth a thousand songs; He is generous, and the plenteous rain of April is but one drop in the sea of His bounteousness; He is the Pardoner, and the zephyr of His favour hath been the source of the endurance of every lover; He is the Avenger, and the glittering sword of the Tartar was the instrument of His severity; He is outward, and the minds of the wise are astounded at the greatness of His perfection; He is inward, and the imagination and understanding cannot attain to real knowledge of His glory; He is one, and is sought alike by those that keep to the middle in the valleys of true guidance and by those that travel hurriedly through the wilderness of passion; He is eternal, and is loved alike by the lovers of truth and by idolatrous libertines—

> Infidelity and Islam walking this way, saying, '*He is alone,*
> *He hath no companion.*'

And may the blessing of His praise descend upon the flower of the garden of creation, the light of the pupil of men of insight, the seal of the prophets, Mohammed the Elect—a blessing out of which the scent of true devotion reacheth the nostrils of the lovers of holiness and from whose fragrance the supreme Pleroma, in agreement with them that dwell in the garden of

contentment, scattereth the largesse [2] of benedictions upon his pure and holy spirit!

And upon the chosen ones of his people and the followers of his law—his friends and household, who are stars in the heavens of righteousness and stones cast at the demon of iniquity—be praise that is adorned with the jewel of purity and the gem of truth and that shall endure for the length of days and nights!

[INTRODUCTION]

In the year 650/1252–3 Fate was kind to me, and Fortune smiled, and there befell me the honour of kissing the threshold of the Court of the World-Emperor, the Commander of the Earth and the Age, the source of the blessings of peace and security, the Khan of all Khans, Mengü [1] Qa'an—may victory and triumph over the foes of state and faith be fastened to his banner and may his august shadow extend over all mankind! and I beheld the effects of that justice whereby all creation hath recovered and bloomed again, just as young plants and trees will smile because of the weeping of the spring clouds; wherein I fulfilled the commandment of the Lord—'*Look to the effects of God's mercy, how He maketh the earth to live after its death.*' [2] The eye of insight was ennobled by contemplation of that justice and the ear of truth adorned with the cry of

> O lovers, that ravisher of hearts hath appeared again.
> Scatter your hearts, for that sweetheart hath appeared.

The tales of Nushirvan's [3] justice were hidden thereby and the traditions of Faridun's [4] wisdom seemed effaced. The breezes

[1] This, the *Turkish* form of the name, is also used by Carpini (Mengu) and Rubruck (Mangu). Rashid-ad-Din always uses the native form, viz. Möngke. This latter form occurs regularly in E (written MWNK KA) in place of the Mengu (MNKW) of the text, which however in one place (I, 157) has Möngke (written MWNKKA) and in another (I, 195) the hybrid form MWNKW. Both *mongke* and *mengu* are adjectives meaning 'eternal'.

[2] Koran, xxx, 49.

[3] Nūshīrvān, i.e. Khusrau I, the Sassanian ruler (531–578), is always represented in Persian literature as the personification of justice.

[4] Farīdūn, actually a figure of Indo-Iranian mythology, appears in the National Epic as the slayer of the tyrant Zaḥḥāk (Daḥāk) and the founder of a pre-Achaemenid dynasty.

of the north wind of his comprehensive equity perfumed the entire world and the sun of his royal favours illumined the whole of mankind. The blast of his shining sword cast fire into the harvest of the abject foe; the subjects and servants of his Court raised the throne of his pavilion to the Pleiades; opponents, for fear of his rigour and fury, tasted the fatal potion; and the hand of his severity and majesty blinded the eye of sedition.

When in this manner and wise I had beheld the magnificent and awful presence of him that bruiseth the lips and seareth the brows of illustrious kings, some of my faithful friends and pure-hearted brethren, the toil of travel to whose august presence was as easy as resting at home, [3] suggested that in order to perpetuate the excellent deeds and to immortalize the glorious actions of the Lord of the Age, the youth of youthful fortune and aged resolve, I should compose a history, and in order to preserve the chronicles and annals of his reign I should compile a record such as would abrogate the verses of the Caesars and erase the traditions of the Chosroes.[5]

Now it is not hidden from the eloquent and the wise, the learned and the accomplished, that the bloom and lustre of the face of literature and the brilliance and prosperity of scholars is due to the patrons of that art and the protectors of that craft—

Would that I knew whether I should ever see a man as a
companion from whom fair praise was inseparable!
Then would I lament and he lament for what was in my heart
and his heart, each of us sure of his brother's lamenting.

But because of the fickleness of Fate, and the influence of the reeling heavens, and the revolution of the vile wheel, and the variance of the chameleon world, colleges of study have been obliterated and seminaries of learning have vanished away; and the order of students has been trampled upon by events and crushed underfoot by treacherous Fate and deceitful Destiny; they have been seized by all the vicissitudes of toils and tribulations; and being subjected to dispersion and destruction they

[5] I.e. the Persian dynasty of the Sassanians (229–652), who overthrew the Parthians and were themselves overthrown by the Arabs.

have been exposed to flashing swords; and they have hidden themselves behind the veil of the earth.

> All learning must now be sought beneath the earth, because
> all the learned are in the belly of the earth.

But in former days when the necklace of the empire of learning and the claimants thereto were strung together on one string—

> *When pleasure was fresh and youth propitious, and amongst*
> *the vicissitudes of fortune men had no eye for thee—*

the most learned in the world and the most excellent amongst the sons of Adam would direct their attention to the perpetuation of fair remembrance and the keeping alive of noble customs. For to the man of insight, who with the eye of reflection considereth the end and conclusion of affairs, it is well known and fully established that the endurance of good fame is the occasion of eternal life,

> *for memory of the hero is his second life.*[6]
> *And when a hero encounters death, it seems that but for*
> *eulogy he might never have been born.*[7]

[4] Therefore it was that sublime poets and eloquent writers, Arabic and Persian, would compile in verse and prose works concerning the kings of the age and the worthies of the era and would write books about them. But to-day the surface of the earth in general and the land of Khorasan in particular (which was the rising-place of felicities and charities, the location of desirable things and good works, the fount of learned men, the rendezvous of the accomplished, the spring-abode of the talented, the meadow of the wise, the thoroughfare of the proficient and the drinking-place of the ingenious—the pearl-raining words of the Prophet have a tradition on this subject: '*Knowledge is a tree which hath its root in Mecca and beareth its fruit in Khorasan*')—to-day, I say, the earth hath been divested of the adornment of the presence of those clad in the gown of science and those decked in the jewels of learning and letters; and they only are

[6] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)
[7] Yazid al-Harithi, a poet of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)

left of whom indeed it can be said: '*But others have come in their place after them who have made an end of prayer and have gone after their own lusts.*'[8]

> *Those are departed under whose protection it was pleasant to live, and I am left amongst a posterity like the skin of a scabby man.*[9]

My father the *sahib-divan* Baha-ad-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Juvaini—*may the lofty tree of excellence continue green in his resting-place and the eyes of virtue continue to gaze upon him!*—hath a *qasida* on this subject of which the following are the first two lines:

> *Have pity on me, the traces of right and truth have been effaced and the foundation of noble deeds is about to collapse.*
> *We have been plagued by successors who in their blindness used combs for their heels and towels for their combs.*

They regard lying and deception as exhortation and admonishment and all profligacy and slander bravery and courage.

> *And many people regarded it as a trade but I was restrained therefrom by my religion and my office.*[10]

They consider the Uighur language and script to be the height of knowledge and learning. Every market lounger in the garb of iniquity has become an emir; every hireling has become a minister, every knave a vizier and every unfortunate a secretary; every - - - -[11] a *mustaufi* and every spendthrift [5] an inspector; every rogue a deputy treasurer and every boor a minister of state; every stableboy the lord of dignity and honour and every carpet-spreader a person of consequence; every cruel man a competent man, every nobody a somebody, every churl a chief, every traitor a mighty lord and every valet a learned scholar; every camel-driver elegant from much riches and every porter in easy circumstances by reason of Fortune's aid.

[8] Koran, xix, 60. [9] Labīd b. Rabī'a al-Amirī. (M.Q.)

[10] Ba'ith b. Huraith, one of the poets of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)

[11] The text has *mustadfi'*, 'one who warms himself': perhaps something like 'shivering wretch' is meant.

The pedigrees of people such as were handed down of yore
cannot be compared with the pedigrees that have grown
with the grass.[12]

The noble yielded themselves to chastisement and from sorrow
and grief gave up their breasts to lamentation.
The back of learning was utterly broken that day when these
ignorant ones leant their backs upon the cushion.

How much did we yearn to praise that age when we were engaged
in blaming this present age! [13]

They consider the breaking of wind and the boxing of ears to proceed from the kindness of their nature, for '*God hath sealed up their hearts*',[14] and they deem vituperation and sottishness to be the consequences of a scatheless mind. In such an age, which is the famine year of generosity and chivalry and the market day of error and ignorance, the good are sorely tried and the wicked and evil firmly established; in the performance of noble deeds the virtuous are twisted in the snare of tribulation, while the vicious and foolish attain the riches they desire; the free are beggars and the liberal outcasts; the noble are portionless and the important of no account; the ingenious are exposed to danger, traditionists are the victims of calamities, the wise the prisoners of shackles and the perfect overtaken by disaster; the mighty are subservient to the base by compulsion and the discriminating are captive in the hands of the ignoble.

I have seen the age which raises every base person and
lowers every person of noble qualities;
Like the sea which drowneth every pearl and on which
carrion floateth ever;
Or like the scales which lower everything of just measure
and raise everything of light weight.

From this it may be known what labours the wise and the talented must perform to ascend the highest and explore the lowest scales. And in accordance with the saying '*People are more like their age than their parents*', in the flower of my youth,

[12] 'Amr b. al-Hudhail al-'Abdī, one of the poets of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)
[13] From a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri. (M.Q.)
[14] Koran, xvi, 110.

which should be the season for laying the foundations of virtues and accomplishments, I complied with the words of my contemporaries and coevals, who were the brethren of devils [6] and before I was twenty years of age I was employed on the work of the Divan, and in the management of affairs and the transaction of business neglected the acquisition of knowledge and heeded not the advice of my father (*may God lengthen his life and place a wall between him and misfortunes!*), advice which is the jewel of the unadorned and the exemplar of the wise:

My little son, strive to acquire knowledge, hasten to gather the fruits of thy desires.
Hast thou not seen on the chessboard how a pawn, if it bestirs itself in its journeyings, becomes a queen?
Our illustrious ancestors have founded us lofty edifices of glory:
If we strengthen them not with our labours, of a surety these edifices will collapse.

However

Well-wishers give advice but it is only the fortunate who take it.

And now that discretion, which is the halter of the frenzy of young men, hath made its appearance, and advancement of years, which is the bridle of the impetuosity of youths, hath gained the upper hand, and things have reached such a pitch that

Seven have been joined unto twenty of my years and discretion hath abstained from excess.

it is idle to regret and lament the waste of the days of study just as it is profitless to bemoan and bewail the days of idleness.

Alas that the years should have passed so suddenly and this life dear as my soul should have passed thirty!
What pleasure is there now? And if there be pleasure, a hundred goblets for a loaf when the wedding-feast is over!

Nevertheless, as I have several times visited Transoxiana [15]

[15] In Arabic *Mā warā-an-nahr*, lit. 'what is beyond the river'. Transoxiana corresponded more or less to the later Russian Turkestan (excluding, of course, the territory west of the Oxus, the present-day Turkmenistan), i.e. the present-day Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan with parts of Tajikistan and Kirghizia.

and Turkestan [16] to the confines of Machin [17] [7] a
China, which is the site of the throne of the kingdo
abode of the race of Chingiz-Khan's [18] posterity and
bead of the necklace of their empire, and have obser
circumstances and have heard from certain creditable
worthy persons of bygone events; and as I saw no e
complying with the suggestion of friends, which is
command, I could not refuse and held it necessary to
the behest of dear ones. I therefore reduced to writi
was confirmed and verified and called the whole of t
tions *Juvaini's History of the World-Conqueror.*[19]

> *The land was emptied, and I was a leader without followers;*
> *And it was part of my misery that I was alone in my leadership.*[20]

It befitteth men of learning and beneficence—may t
be far removed from the courtyard of their glory an
edifices of nobleness and sublimity be constructed
being! that, by way of kindness, they cover the feet
deficiency of my language and style with the train of
and cancellation, since for ten years I have set my foot
lands and have eschewed study; and the leaves of t

16 By Turkestan, i.e. Turkistān, 'the land of the Turks', is mean
and Mongol territories to the east of Transoxiana.

17 Māchīn, i.e. Southern China, called also Manzī, the Manji of

18 ČNGZ XAN. The title assumed by the Mongol chieft
See below, p. 35. According to Ramstedt and Pelliot it me
Khan', i.e. 'Universal Ruler', *chingiz* being a palatalized form o
tengiz (*tangiz*) 'sea'. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [23].
as Pelliot points out (*loc. cit.*, n. 9), actually uses the form Tengiz
normal spelling of the name in English (Genghis Khan) and Fre
Khan) appears to be due to the example set by Voltaire. See Gil
n. 4. It is based ultimately on the spelling of the name in the
The Cyngis of Carpini and the Chingis of Rubruck represent the r
pronunciation, viz. Chinggis.

19 This, and not simply *The History of the World-Conqueror*, app
full title of the work. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why th
fath nama he composed on the capture of Alamut (see below, ii.
refer to '*Juvaini's* History of the World-Conqueror'.

20 From a poem in the *Hamāsa* by an unknown author. (M.C

have become '*woven over by the spider*' and the pictures thereof erased from the page of the mind—

Like the writing writ upon the surface of the water;

and that they lay not the finger of criticism upon the false steps, wherefrom no man remaineth exempt, '*for every courser stumbleth*'.

If thou perceivest irregularity in my style, my
calligraphy, my ability or my rhetoric,
Question not my understanding: verily my dance is
to the tune of the times.

And if in the regions of excess and deficiency I have trodden the pathway of latitude, let them be pleased to consider the force of the verse, '*And when they pass by frivolous sport they pass on with dignity*';[21] for the purpose of recounting these tales and declaring and delineating the shape of events compriseth two objects, viz. the achievement of spiritual and temporal advantage.

As for the spiritual advantage, if a keen-sighted man of pure nature, who is fair and moderate, look not upon these matters with the eye of rancour and envy, which occasioneth [8] and causeth faults, and giveth rise to vices and defects, whereof the origin is baseness of mind and meanness of nature; and if he gaze not with the regard of complaisance and loyalty, which seeth misdemeanours in a fair light and holdeth sackcloth for brocade—

The eye of contentment is blind to every defect, but
the eye of anger giveth rise to faults——;[22]

but if he consider these matters honestly and sincerely as one that taketh the middle course—'*for the best of things is the middle thereof*'—

Provided I am content to bear the burden of love and
be saved therefrom, I gain nothing and lose nothing—

and if he reflect upon these discourses and compositions, which are announced in various styles [?]; then the veil of doubt and

[21] Koran, xxv, 72.

[22] One of the lines by 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abu-Talib in which he reproaches his friend Husain b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ubaidallah b. Abbas. See the *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, XI, 76. (M.Q.)

suspicion and the covering of mistrust and uncertainty will be lifted from his sight, and it will not remain concealed and hidden from his mind and heart that whatever of good or evil, of weal or woe, appeareth in this world of growth and decay is dependent upon the decree of a powerful Sage and hingeth upon the will of an absolute Potentate, Whose deeds are the rule of wisdom and the prerequisite of excellence and justice; and when such events occur as the devastation of countries and the scattering of peoples through the adversity of the good and the triumph of the evil there are wise saws rolled up inside them. *God Almighty hath said: 'Haply ye love a thing though it be bad for you.'* [23] And Master Sana'i [24] saith:

> Take either hope or fear, the Sage hath created nothing vain
> In the world whatever is gone and whatever is to come and whatever is must be so.

And Badi' of Hamadan [25] saith in one treatise: *'Oppose not God in His will and vie not with Him in multitude in His own land; "for the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage".'* [26].

Whatever is secret is a sea into which no man has the knowledge or the wisdom to plunge: what people can fly over that horizon or what understanding or imagination can pass through that valley?

> Whence am I? whence the word of the secret of the kingdom?
> *For none knoweth the hidden save only God.*

> [9] Thy soul is ignorant of this secret, for thee there is no way through this curtain.

But whatever can be reached through reason or tradition and is not remote from the imagination and understanding is limited

[23] Koran, ii, 213.

[24] The celebrated mystic poet who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century.

[25] I.e. Badi'-az-Zaman (†1007), an Arabic writer and the creator of a new literary genre, the *maqāma*, a kind of picaresque tale in rhymed prose.

[26] Koran, vii, 125.

to two kinds: First, the manifestation of the miracle of the Prophecy, and secondly, theology. And can there be a greater miracle than that after six hundred odd years the fulfilment of the tradition: '*The earth was allotted to me and I was shown the East and the West thereof; and the kingdom of my people shall reach what was allotted to me thereof*' should come to pass in the appearance of a strange army?—for the abundance of the lights of the sunbeams seems no more strange than dampness from water or heat from fire, but every light that shineth because of the darkness is exceeding marvellous and wonderful.

> We did not die until through jugglery we saw
> the dawn at midnight.

For this reason the Banner of Islam is raised higher and the candle of the Faith lit brighter; and the sun of the creed of Mohammed casts its shadow over countries whose nostrils had not been perfumed by the scent of Islam, whose ears had not been charmed by the sound of the *takbir* and the *azan* and whose soil had not been trodden save by the unclean feet of the worshippers of al-Lat and al-'Uzza;[27] whereas to-day so many believers in the one God have bent their steps thitherwards and reached the farthest countries of the East, and settled, and made their homes there, that their numbers are beyond calculation or computation. Some are those who at the time of the conquest of Transoxiana and Khorasan[28] were driven thither in the levy as craftsmen and keepers of animals; and many are those who —from the farthermost West, from the two Iraqs,[29] from Syria and the other lands of Islam—have wandered in the way of trade and commerce, visiting every region and every city, acquiring fame and seeing strange sights, and have cast away the staff of travel in those regions and decided to abide there; and have settled down, and built mansions and castles, and reared the

[27] The names of two goddesses worshipped by the ancient Arabs.

[28] Khorasan was then much larger than the present-day province of north-eastern Persia. Of its four great cities of Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur (see below, p. 151) only the last is still in Persian territory. Merv (the modern Marī) is in Turkmenistan and Balkh and Herat in Afghanistan.

[29] I.e. Arab 'Irāq or Lower Mesopotamia and Persian 'Irāq or Central Persia.

cells of Islam over against the houses of idols, and established schools, where the learned teach and instruct and the acquirers of learning profit thereby: it is as though the tradition: '*Seek knowledge even in China*' related to this age and to those who live in this present era.

And as for the children of the polytheists, some have fallen into the hands of the Moslems in the baseness of servitude and have attained the dignity [10] of Islam, and others, when the ray of the lights of true guidance had influenced the stony heart of the quality of '*They are like rocks or harder still*',[30] have acquired the glory of the faith, as is the nature of the sunbeams, which appear in the rocks and through which lustrous jewels are made manifest. And because of the auspiciousness of the blessings of the people of the faith, wherever the eye roameth, it seeth from the multitude of believers in the One God a vast city and in the midst of the darkness a bright light; and it is believed by the ascetic order amongst the idolaters (whom in their own language they call *toyin*)[31] that before the settlement of the Moslems and the performance of the *takbir* and the *iqamat* (*may God maintain and perpetuate them!*) the idols used to converse with them—'*the Satans will indeed suggest to their votaries* (*to wrangle with you*)'[32] – but because of the inauspiciousness of the coming of the Moslems they have grown angry with them and will not say a word—'*God hath sealed up their mouths.*' And indeed so it must be, for '*truth is come and falsehood is vanished: verily, falsehood is a thing that vanisheth*'.[33] Wherever the lights of the power of truth shine forth the darkness of infidelity and iniquity is dispersed and destroyed like the mist which resisteth not the elevation of the sun.

> When the dawn of the power of truth begins to blow,
> the *dev*s begin to flee from every region.
> Man comes to a place where in every moment without
> difficulty the eye begins to see the beloved.

[30] Koran, ii, 69.

[31] I.e. Buddhist priests, the Tuini of Rubruck. The Turkish word *toyïn* is a borrowing from the Chinese *tao-jên*, lit. 'man of the Way'.

[32] Koran, vi, 121.

[33] *Ibid.*, xvii, 83.

As for those who have attained to the degree of martyrdom, which after the dignity of Prophecy is the most excellent and perfect of degrees in the Court of Glory, by the flashing sabre of '*the sword is the eraser of sins*' they have been rendered heavy of scale and light of weight from the burden of the loads and the load of the burdens which they had acquired in a life of security and ease—'*and repute not those slain in God's path to be dead; nay they are alive with their Lord*'.[34]

> *And the blood which thou didst cause to flow in thyself*
> *was glorious, and the heart which thou didst frighten*
> *was thy panegyrist.*

And as for the survivors of those endued with insight they have received a warning and an admonishment.

[11] As for the temporal advantage, it is that whoever peruses these discourses and traditions (which are free from the semblance of boasting and the suspicion of lying, for what room is there for untruth seeing that these tales are too clear and manifest for mortal man to make a mistake regarding them ?—

> Perchance until the day of judgement these words
> shall not grow old amongst the wise)

and discovers therein the parables of the strength and might of the Mongol army and the agreement of Fate and Destiny with whatever they set their hands to, such a man, I say, will take for his pattern and exemplar the commandment of the Lord: '*And throw not yourselves with your own hands into ruin.*'[35] It is the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols that whoever yields and submits to them is safe and free from the terror and disgrace of their severity. Moreover, they oppose no faith or religion—how can one speak of opposition ?—rather they encourage them; the proof of which assertion is the saying of Mohammed (*upon whom be peace* !): '*Verily, God shall assert this religion through a people that have no share of good fortune.*' They have exempted and dispensed the most learned of every religion from every kind

[34] *Ibid.*, iii, 163.

[35] *Ibid.*, ii, 191.

of occasional tax (*'avāriżāt*) and from the inconvenience of contributions (*mu'an*); their pious foundations and bequests for the public use and their husbandmen and ploughmen have also been recognized as immune; and none may speak amiss of them, particularly the imams of the faith of Mohammed, and especially now in the reign of the Emperor Mengü Qa'an, when there are several princes of the family (*urugh*) of Chingiz-Khan, his children and grandchildren, in whom the dignity of Islam hath been joined to worldly power; and so many of their followers and adherents, their horsemen and servants have been decorated and adorned with the jewel of the glory of the faith that their numbers are beyond calculation or computation. In view of the foregoing it is necessary on the grounds of reason, now that the Piebald Horse of the Days [36] is tame between the thighs of their command, that men should comply with the commandment of the Lord: '*And if they lean to peace, lean thou also to it;*' [37] and should yield and submit; and desist from rebellion and frowardness in accordance with the words of the Lord of the Shari'at: '*Let the Turks be as long as they let you be, for they are endued with terrible prowess;*' and place their lives and property in the stronghold of immunity and the asylum of security—'*for* [12] *God guideth whom He pleaseth into the straight path.*' [38]

Since in every age and century men have been prevented by the petulance of wealth, the pride of riches and the arrogance of prosperity from carrying out the commandments of God (*glorious is His power and exalted His word!*) and have been impelled and instigated thereby to set their hands to sin—'*verily, man is insolent because he seeth himself possessed of riches*' [39]—therefore for the admonishment and chastisement of every people a punishment hath been meted out fitting to their rebellion and in proportion to their infidelity, and as a warning to those endued with insight a calamity or castigation hath overtaken them in accordance with their sins and misdemeanours. Thus, in the age of Noah (*upon whom be peace!*) there was a general deluge; in the age

[36] I.e. the World.
[37] Koran, viii, 63.
[38] *Ibid.*, ii, 209.
[39] *Ibid.*, xcvi, 6–7.

of Thamud,[40] the punishment of the people of 'Ad; and in the same way every nation hath undergone punishments such as metamorphoses, plagues of noxious creatures and the like, as hath been recorded in the *Qisas*.[41] And when the time came for the reign of the Seal of the Prophets (*for whom let there be offered up the most excellent of devout prayers!*), he besought the Lord of Majesty and Glory to grant that all the different punishments and calamities which He had sent to every nation on account of their disobedience might be remitted in the case of his own nation—and this honour hath been for his nation the source of their other excellencies—but not as regards the punishment of the sword, concerning which his prayer attained not the manifestation of acceptance and hit not the target of admission. The learned Jarallah[42] in his commentary, the *Kashshaf*, when he comes to the following verse in the *sura* of the Cattle: '*Say: It is He who hath power to send on you a punishment from above you,*'[43] quotes these words of the Prophet of God (*God bless him and give him peace!*): '*I asked God not to send upon my nation a punishment from above them, or from beneath their feet. And He granted it unto me. And I asked Him not to put their bane amongst them, and He prevented me. And Gabriel told me that the destruction of my nation would be by the sword.*' And from the point of view of reason it is necessary and essential that if the threat of the sword, which is the immediate menace, were to remain in abeyance and men were content with that which is promised in the next world everything would be confused; the common people, whose feet are bound with '*What is restrained by authority*',[44] would have their hands freed; the nobles would remain in the corner of calamity and the nook of tribulation;

[40] This is apparently a mistake for Hūd, the name of a prophet who was sent to warn the Arabian people of 'Ād. (Koran, lxxxvii, 63.) Thamūd was the name of another people to whom a prophet called Sālih was sent. (*Ibid.*, 71.)

[41] I.e. the *Qiṣaṣ-al-Anbiyā* or *Tales of the Prophets* of Tha'labi.

[42] I.e. Zamakhshari, whose work, the *Kashshāf*, is one of the best known commentaries on the Koran.

[43] Koran, vi, 65.

[44] A reference to the well known *hadith*: '*Those who are restrained by authority are more than those who are restrained by the Koran.*' (M.Q.)

and some of the advantages of *'And we have se wherein resideth dire evil, as well as advantage, to men'* rendered null and void, for without this instrument justice [13] and equity, which have been opened an by *'And we have sent down the book and the balance'*, bolted and barred and the order of men's affairs sudden be deranged. And from this it is clear, a ness of doubt arises, that whatever was predestined i ning of time is for the benefit of the servants of C *is His power and universal His dominion!*). And wh of six hundred odd years had passed since the mi Prophet to all creation an abundance of wealth and of desires were the cause of rebellion and estrangem *God will not change His gifts to men, till they chan themselves.'* [46] And it is stated without ambigu glorious Word: *'And thy Lord was not one who wou cities when the inhabitants were righteous.'* [47] The wh Satan drove them far from the path of rectitude and of righteousness.

> Infidelity came and religion was borne off by the whispering of Satan; love came and reason was b off by the coquetry of the beloved.
>
> O thou who art ignorant of the latter end, show jus can one spend one's life in a way more wretched t this?

'Except those who believe and do the things that are go and few indeed are they'.[48]

> *And how many crimes have been committed by fools a the punishment has fallen on the innocent!* [49]
>
> To complain of fate is useless; whatever befallet us is our own doing.

It was the will of God (*holy are His names!*) that should be roused from the slumber of neglect—*'M and when they die they wake'*—and recover from the

[45] Koran, lvii, 25.
[46] *Ibid.*, x
[47] *Ibid.*, xi, 119.
[48] *Ibid.*, x
[49] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

of ignorance and so be a warning to their posterity and children; and that the miracle of the faith of Mohammed should come to pass as the culmination thereof, something of which has been mentioned in the foregoing; and that He should prepare a certain person, and make his nature the receptacle of all manner of power, and daring, and ruthlessness, and vengeance, and then by means of praiseworthy qualities and laudable properties bring it into a position of equilibrium; just as a skilful healer in dispelling base diseases maketh use of scammony in his purgatives and then seeth fit to apply correctives, so that the constitution be not wholly turned aside from its original state and utterly changed, and dispelleth the humours in accordance with nature; and the Greatest Physician is well aware of the temperaments and constitutions of His servants and [14] understandeth the use of drugs, which He administereth according to the time and in agreement with nature. *'Verily, God knoweth and understandeth.'* [50]

[I]

OF THE CONDITION OF THE MONGOLS BEFORE THE TIME OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S RISE TO POWER

WHEN the phoenix (*humā*) [1] of prosperity wishes to make the roof of one man its abode, and the owl of misfortune to haunt the threshold of another, though their stations be widely different, the one in the zenith of good fortune and the other in the nadir of abasement, yet neither scarcity of equipment nor feebleness of condition prevents the fortunate man from attaining his goal—

> Whoever hath been prepared for Fortune, though he seek
> her not, Fortune seeketh him—

and neither abundance of gear nor excess of accoutrement can save the unfortunate one from losing even that which he hath.

[50] Koran, xxxv, 28.

[1] The *humā*, a bird of good omen, is actually the Lammergeyer.

[2] Ascribed by 'Aufi in his *Jawāmi'-al-Ḥikāyāt* to a secretary in the service of Malik-Shah called Muzaffar Khamaj. (M.Q.)

'Exertion unaided by fortune is illusive.' Nor may the counsel of man lay the hand of protection upon his brow; but *'when he prospereth, he prospereth, and when he faileth, he faileth'*. For if craft, and might, and wealth, and affluence could accomplish aught, then would power and empire never have passed from the houses of former kings to another; but when the time of the decline of their fortunes was arrived, neither craft, nor perseverance nor counsel could aid them; and neither the multitude of their troops nor the strength of their resistance was of any avail. And of this there is still clearer proof and plainer evidence in the instance of the Mongol people, when one considers in what circumstances and position they found themselves before they beat the drum of the greatness of Chingiz-Khan and his posterity, and how to-day the waters of prosperity flow in the rivers of their desire and the army of affliction and sorrow has fallen upon the stations and relays of opponents and insurgents, which same were mighty Chosroes and illustrious kings; and in what manner Fate has shown herself kind to that people, and how the world was stirred up by them, [15] prisoners becoming princes and princes prisoners. *'And that was easy unto God.'* [3]

> *Upon the head of a slave a crown of honour that adorneth him, and on the foot of a freeman a chain of shame that disfigureth him.*

The home of the Tartars,[4] and their origin and birthplace, is an immense valley, whose area is a journey of seven or eight months both in length and breadth. In the east it marches

[3] Koran, iv, 34 and 167; and xxxiii, 19 and 20.

[4] In Persian *Tatār*. This term in Juvaini (as the Arabic equivalent *Tatar* in Ibn-al-Athir and Nasawi) always refers to the Mongols in general and never to the original Tatar, a tribe to the south-east of the Mongols proper. This comprehensive use of the name Tatar was due to the importance assumed by that people in the 12th century. See Vladimirtsov, *Gengis-Khan*, 10–11. In Europe the word was associated with Tartarus or Tartara and Matthew of Paris (Rockhill, xv) tells how 'the countless army of the Tartars . . . poured forth like devils from the Tartarus, so that they are rightly called Tartari or Tartarians,' whilst the Emperor Frederick II in a letter to Henry III of England (*ibid.*, xix) expresses the hope that 'the Tartars will be driven finally down into their Tartarus.'

with the land of Khitai,[5] in the west with the country of the Uighur,[6] in the north with the Qirqiz [7] and the river Selengei [8] and in the south with the Tangut [9] and the Tibetans.

Before the appearance of Chingiz-Khan they had no chief or ruler. Each tribe or two tribes lived separately; they were not united with one another, and there was constant fighting and hostility between them. Some of them regarded robbery and violence, immorality and debauchery (*fisq va fujūr*) as deeds of manliness and excellence. The Khan of Khitai used to demand and seize goods from them. Their clothing was of the skins of dogs and mice, and their food was the flesh of those animals and other dead things; their wine was mares' milk and their dessert the fruit of a tree shaped like the pine, which they call *qusuq* [10] and besides which no other fruit-bearing tree will grow

[5] Marco Polo's Cathay, i.e. Northern China.

[6] At an earlier period the Uighur Turks had ruled in Mongolia itself but they had then been expelled by the Kirghiz and had settled in the various oases to the north of the Tarim. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 172–8.

[7] I.e. the Kirghiz Turks, who at that time inhabited the region of the Upper Yenisei.

[8] SLNKAY. The Selenga.

[9] The Tangut were a people of Tibetan origin who had founded a kingdom in North-Western China. On their destruction by Chingiz-Khan see Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde*, 233–6.

[10] QSWQ, which I take to be identical with the *qusuq* of Kashghari. Kashghari's Arabic equivalent is *jillauz*, which is translated by Brockelmann and Atalay as 'hazelnut': in actual fact, as was pointed out to me by Professor Henning in a letter dated the 14th October, 1954, it is simply the Arabicized form of the Persian *chilghūza* 'pignon', 'fruit of the edible pine'. The *qusuq* tree is referred to again in Chapter VII, p. 55, where it is described as 'a tree shaped like a pine whose leaves in winter resemble those of a cypress and whose fruit is like a pignon (*chilghūza*) both in shape and taste'. It is in fact, as was already suggested by Marquart, *Čuwayni's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uighuren*, 490, the Siberian Cedar (*Pinus cembra*). According to Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, IV, 2274 *et seq.*, there are two varieties of this tree, *sibirica*, 'a lofty tree not found beyond the Lena', and *pygmaea*, which '*covers rocky mountains which are so barren that herbage of no kind will grow on them*'. Dr. W. O. Howarth, of the Department of Botany in the University of Manchester, to whom I am indebted for the above reference, suggested in a letter dated the 17th February, 1954, that the second variety is simply a form of the first 'dwarfed by the conditions under which it grows'. As for the pignons, they are to-day a favourite delicacy of the Russians. Turner, *Siberia*, 89–90, gives an amusing account of the vast consumption of these nuts on the Trans-Siberian Railway

in that region: it grows [even] on some of the m where, on account of the excessive cold, there is not to be found. The sign of a great emir amongst them his stirrups were of iron; from which one can form of their other luxuries. And they continued in this i privation and misfortune until the banner of Chingi fortune was raised and they issued forth from the strait ship into the amplitude of well-being, from a priso garden, from the desert of poverty into a palace of de from abiding torment into reposeful pleasances; thei being of silk and brocade, their food and fruit '*Th birds of the kind which they shall desire, and fruits of the . they shall choose*',[11] and their drink '*(pure wine) sealed whereof shall be musk*'.[12] And so it has come to pass present world is the paradise of that people; for all chandise that is brought from the West is borne ur and that which is bound in the farthest East is untie houses; wallets and purses are filled from their treası their everyday garments are studded with jewels and em with gold; and in the markets of their residences g fabrics have been so much cheapened [16] that were tl taken back to the mine or quarry they would sell there than double the price, while to take fabrics thither is a present of carraway-seeds to Kerman or an offering to Oman.[13] Moreover, everyone of them has laid out everywhere appointed husbandmen; their victuals, abundant, and their beverages flow like the River Oxı

and goes on to say that they 'are obtained in the northern parts of t ments of Tomsk and Mariinsk, and in the mountainous localities of th districts, Tomsk being the principal market for their sale. From thousand tons are collected in a good season, the nuts being sold 10s. to 15s. a cwt. The harvest in the forest begins about the 10th and ends about the middle of September. The cones are obtained b or by shaking the trees, while, in remote spots, huge trees, centuries ol lessly felled by greedy collectors. One family will gather as much of nuts in one day during the season.' Turner is of course describing at the turn of the century.

[11] Koran, lvi, 21 and 20 (in that order).

[12] Koran, lxxxiii, 5 and 6.

[13] I.e. coals to Nev

Through the splendour of the daily increasing fortune and under the shadow of the august majesty of Chingiz-Khan and his descendants the circumstances of the Mongols have risen from such penury and indigence to such abundance and affluence. And as for the other tribes their affairs also have been well ordered and their destiny firmly established. And whoever could not [previously] afford to make himself a cotton bed will trade with them for fifty thousand or thirty thousand gold or silver *balish*[14] at a time. Now the *balish* is worth fifty *misqals* of gold or silver, round about seventy-five *rukni*[15] dinars, the standard of which is two thirds.

May God Almighty grant his posterity, and in particular Mengü Qa'an, who is a most wise and just monarch, countless years in the pursuit of a prosperous life; may He uphold his clemency towards mankind!

[II]

OF THE LAWS WHICH CHINGIZ-KHAN FRAMED AND THE *YASAS* WHICH HE PROMULGATED AFTER HIS RISE TO POWER[1]

God Almighty in wisdom and intelligence distinguished Chingiz-Khan from all his coevals and in alertness of mind and absoluteness of power exalted him above all the kings of the world; so that all that has been recorded touching the practice of the mighty Chosroes of old and all that has been written concerning the customs and usages of the Pharaohs and Caesars was by Chingiz-Khan invented from the page of his own mind

[14] An ingot of gold or silver. It is the *iascot* of Rubruck, which, as Pelliot has shown, *Horde d'Or*, 8, *TP*, 1930, 190–2, and 1936, 80, is a misreading of **iastoc*, i.e. *yastuq*, the Turkish name for these ingots. *yastuq*, like the Persian *bālish*, means literally 'cushion'. An *iascot* according to Rubruck (Rockhill, 156) was 'a piece of silver weighing ten marks'; he does not seem to have known of the gold *bālish*.

[15] I.e. struck by some ruler called Rukn-ad-Din.

[1] This chapter has been translated into Russian by Professor Minorsky. See G. Vernadsky, O *sostave velikoy yasī Chingis khana*, Brussels, 1939. There is also an English translation by Professor Vernadsky in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 1939, xi, 37–45.

without the toil of perusing records or the trouble of confc with tradition; while all that pertains to the method o jugating countries and relates to the crushing of the po enemies and the raising of the station of followers was the p of his own understanding and the compilation of his owr lect. And indeed, Alexander, who was so addicted devising of talismans and the solving of enigmas, had h in the age of Chingiz-Khan, would have been his pupil i and cunning, and of [17] all the talismans for the tak strongholds he would have found none better than blin follow in his footsteps: whereof there can be no clearer nor more certain evidence than that having such numeroı powerful foes and such mighty and well-accoutred en whereof each was the *faghfur* [2] of the time and the Chosı the age, he sallied forth, a single man, with few troops a accoutrement, and reduced and subjugated the lords horizons from the East unto the West; and whoever pre: to oppose and resist him, that man, in enforcement of th and ordinances which he imposed, he utterly destroyed, tc with all his followers, children, partisans, armies, land territories. There has been transmitted to us a tradition traditions of God which says: '*Those are my horsemen;* ı *them shall I avenge me on those that rebelled against me,*' nor i: a shadow of doubt but that these words are a reference horsemen of Chingiz-Khan and to his people. And so that when the world by reason of the variety of its creatur become a raging sea, and the kings and nobles of every c by reason of the arrogance of pride and the insolence of vai had reached the very zenith of '*Vainglory is my tunic, and pı cloak*', then did God, in accordance with the above-men promise, endow Chingiz-Khan with the strength of mig the victory of dominion—'*Verily, the might of the Lord* : *indeed*',[3] and when through pride of wealth, and pow station the greater part of the cities and countries of the

[2] The Facfur of Marco Polo, the Persian translation (lit. 'son of G one of the titles of the Emperor of China.

[3] Koran, lxx, 12.

encountered him with rebellion and hatred and refused to yield allegiance (and especially the countries of Islam, from the frontiers of Turkestan to uttermost Syria), then wherever there was a king, or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, him he annihilated together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained, without exaggeration, not a hundred souls alive; as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of the various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper place.

In accordance and agreement with his own mind he established a rule for every occasion and a regulation for every circumstance; while for every crime he fixed a penalty. And since the Tartar peoples had no script of their own, he gave orders that Mongol children should learn writing from the Uighur; and that these *yasas* and ordinances should be written down on rolls. These rolls are called the *Great Book of Yasas* and are kept in the treasury of the chief princes. Wherever a khan [18] ascends the throne, or a great army is mobilized, or the princes assemble and begin [to consult together] concerning affairs of state and the administration thereof, they produce these rolls and model their actions thereon; and proceed with the disposition of armies or the destruction of provinces and cities in the manner therein prescribed.

At the time of the first beginnings of his dominion, when the Mongol tribes were united to him, he abolished reprehensible customs which had been practised by those peoples and had enjoyed recognition amongst them; and established such usages as were praiseworthy from the point of view of reason. There are many of these ordinances that are in conformity with the Shari'at.

In the messages which he sent in all directions calling on the peoples to yield him allegiance, he never had recourse to intimidation or violent threats, as was the custom with the tyrant kings of old, who used to menace their enemies with the size of their territory and the magnitude of their equipment and supplies; the Mongols, on the contrary, as their uttermost warning, would write thus: 'If ye submit not, nor surrender, what know we

thereof? The Ancient God, He knoweth.'[4] If one reflects upon their signification, [one sees that] these are the words of them that put their trust in God—*God Almighty hath said 'And for him that putteth his trust in Him God will be all-sufficient'* [5] —so that of necessity such a one obtains whatever he has borne in his heart and yearned after, and attains his every wish.

Being the adherent of no religion and the follower of no creed, he eschewed bigotry, and the preference of one faith to another, and the placing of some above others; rather he honoured and respected the learned and pious of every sect, recognizing such conduct as the way to the Court of God. And as he viewed the Moslems with the eye of respect, so also did he hold the Christians and idolaters in high esteem. As for his children and grandchildren, several of them have chosen a religion according to their inclination, some adopting Islam, others embracing Christianity, others selecting idolatry and others again cleaving to the ancient canon of their fathers and forefathers and inclining in no direction; but these are now a minority. But though they have adopted some religion they still for the most part avoid all show of fanaticism and do not swerve from the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, namely, to consider all sects as one and not to distinguish them from [19] one another.

It is one of their laudable customs that they have closed the doors of ceremony, and preoccupation with titles, and excessive aloofness and inaccessibility; which things are customary with the fortunate and the mighty. When one of them ascends the throne of the Khanate, he receives one additional name, that of Khan or Qa'an, than which nothing more is written [in official documents]; while the other sons [6] and his brothers are addressed

[4] Cf. the ending of Guyuk's letter to Innocent IV: *va agar dīgar kunad* [*kunīd*] *mā chi dānim khudai dānad.* 'And if ye do otherwise, what know we? God knoweth.' (Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [16].) Cf. too the letter of Baichu to the Pope: '. . . et si tu preceptum Dei stabile et illius qui faciem totius terre continet non audiens illud nos nescimus Deus scit.' (*Ibid.*, [128]).

[5] Koran, lxv, 3.

[6] I.e. *princes.* For this use of the Persian *pisar*, lit. 'son', like the Turkish *oghul* and the Mongol *köbe'ün*, in the sense of 'prince of the blood' see M.Q., II, ix, also Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [168].

by the name they were given at birth, both in their presence and in their absence; and this applies both to commoners and to the nobility. And likewise in directing their correspondence they write only the simple name, making no difference between Sultan and commoner; and write only the gist of the matter in hand, avoiding all superfluous titles and formulas.

He paid great attention to the chase and used to say that the hunting of wild beasts was a proper occupation for the commanders of armies; and that instruction and training therein was incumbent on warriors and men-at-arms, [who should learn] how the huntsmen come up with the quarry, how they hunt it, in what manner they array themselves and after what fashion they surround it according as the party is great or small. For when the Mongols wish to go a-hunting, they first send out scouts to ascertain what kinds of game are available and whether it is scarce or abundant. And when they are not engaged in warfare, they are ever eager for the chase and encourage their armies thus to occupy themselves; not for the sake of the game alone, but also in order that they may become accustomed and inured to hunting and familiarized with the handling of the bow and the endurance of hardships. Whenever the Khan sets out on the great hunt [7] (which takes place at the beginning of the winter season), he issues orders that the troops stationed around his headquarters and in the neighbourhood of the *ordus* shall make preparations for the chase, mounting several men from each company of ten in accordance with instructions and distributing such equipment in the way of arms and other matters as are suitable for the locality where it is desired to hunt. The right wing, left wing and centre of the army are drawn up and entrusted to the great emirs; and they set out together with the Royal Ladies *(khavātīn)* and the concubines, as well as provisions of food and drink. For a month, or two, or three they form a

[7] Rubruck speaks of these *battues*: 'When they want to chase wild animals, they gather together in a great multitude and surround the district in which they know the game to be, and gradually they come closer to each other till they have shut up the game in among them as in an enclosure, and then they shoot them with their arrows.' (Rockhill, 71.) Cf. also Friar Odoric's account of 'the Khan's great hunting matches', Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 234–6.

hunting ring and drive the game slowly and gradually before them, taking care [20] lest any escape from the ring. And if, unexpectedly, any game should break through, a minute inquiry is made into the cause and reason, and the commanders of thousands, hundreds and tens are clubbed therefor, and often even put to death. And if (for example) a man does not keep to the line (which they call *nerge*) but takes a step forwards or backwards, severe punishment is dealt out to him and is never remitted. For two or three months, by day and by night, they drive the game in this manner, like a flock of sheep, and dispatch messages to the Khan to inform him of the condition of the quarry, its scarcity or plenty, whither it has come and from whence it has been started. Finally, when the ring has been contracted to a diameter of two or three parasangs, they bind ropes together and cast felts over them; while the troops come to a halt all around the ring, standing shoulder to shoulder. The ring is now filled with the cries and commotion of every manner of game and the roaring and tumult of every kind of ferocious beast; all thinking that the appointed hour of '*And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together*'[8] is come; lions becoming familiar with wild asses, hyaenas friendly with foxes, wolves intimate with hares. When the ring has been so much contracted that the wild beasts are unable to stir, first the Khan rides in together with some of his retinue; then, after he has wearied of the sport, they dismount upon high ground in the centre of the *nerge* to watch the princes likewise entering the ring, and after them, in due order, the *noyans*, the commanders and the troops. Several days pass in this manner; then, when nothing is left of the game but a few wounded and emaciated stragglers, old men and greybeards humbly approach the Khan, offer up prayers for his well-being and intercede for the lives of the remaining animals asking that they be suffered to depart to some place nearer to grass and water. Thereupon they collect together all the game that they have bagged; and if the enumeration of every species of animal proves impracticable they count only the beasts of prey and the wild asses.

[8] Koran, lxxxi, 5.

[21] A friend has related how during the reign of Qa'an [9] they were hunting one winter in this fashion and Qa'an, in order to view the scene, had seated himself upon a hilltop; whereupon beasts of every kind set their faces towards his throne and from the foot of the hill set up a wailing and lamentation like that of petitioners for justice. Qa'an commanded that they should be set free and the hand of injury withheld from them.

It was Qa'an that commanded that between the land of Khitai and his winter quarters a wall should be built of wood and clay, and gates set into it; so that much game might enter it from a great distance and they might hunt it after the manner described. In the region of Almaligh [10] and Quyas [11] Chaghatai constructed a hunting ground in the very same manner.

Now war—with its killing, counting of the slain and sparing of the survivors—is after the same fashion, and indeed analogous in every detail, because all that is left in the neighbourhood of the battlefield are a few broken-down wretches.

With regard to the organization of their army, from the time of Adam down to the present day, when the greater part of the climes are at the disposition and command of the seed of Chingiz-Khan, it can be read in no history and is recorded in no book that any of the kings that were lords of the nations ever attained an army like the army of the Tartars, so patient of hardship, so

[9] I.e. Ögedei (Ögetei), the second son and first successor of Chingiz-Khan. See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 152, where I suggest that Qa'an was the posthumous title of Ögedei.

[10] Almalïgh or Almalïq, the 'Apple-Orchard', was situated in Semirechye, in the valley of the Ili, not far from the present-day Kulja. It was here, 'in the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec in the Middle Empire of Tartary', in 1339 or 1340 that the Franciscan martyrs met their end. See Yule, *op. cit.*, III, 31–2, also Wyngaert, 510–11.

[11] Reading QYAS and QWYAS for the QNAS and QWNAS of the text. There is also MS. authority for the spelling Quyash, but Kashghari distinguishes between Quyas the township (*qaṣaba*) and *quyash* 'sun'. Quyas, according to Kashghari, lay beyond Barskhan (I, 393) and two rivers, the Greater and the Lesser Keiken, flowed from it to the Ili (III, 175). Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 185, n. 2, suggests its possible identity with the Equius of Rubruck, 'a goodly town . . . in which were Saracens speaking Persian' (Rockhill, 139), in which Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 76, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 277, see the Iki-Ögüz of Kashghari.

grateful for comforts, so obedient to its commanders
prosperity and adversity; and this not in hope of w
fiefs nor in expectation of income or promotion. This is
the best way to [22] organize an army; for lions, so lon
are not hungry, will not hunt or attack any animal. T
Persian proverb: 'An overfed dog catches no game', a
also been said: '*Starve thy dog that it may follow thee.*'

What army in the whole world can equal the Mongo
In time of action, when attacking and assaulting, they
trained wild beasts out after game, and in the days of p
security they are like sheep, yielding milk, and wool, a
other useful things. In misfortune and adversity they
from dissension and opposition. It is an army after th
of a peasantry, being liable to all manner of contribution
and rendering without complaint whatever is enjoined
whether *qupchur*,[12] occasional taxes (*'avāriżāt*), the mai
(*ikhrājāt*) of travellers or the upkeep of post stations (*yam*
the provision of mounts (*ulagh*)[14] and food (*'ulūfāt*)
It is also a peasantry in the guise of an army, all of the
and small, noble and base, in time of battle becoming sw
archers and lancers and advancing in whatever ma
occasion requires. Whenever the slaying of foes and th
ing of rebels is purposed, they specify all that will be
for that business, from the various arms and implemen
to banners, needles, ropes, mounts and pack animals
donkeys and camels; and every man must provide
according to his ten or hundred. On the day of revi
they display their equipment, and if only a little be missi
responsible are severely punished. Even when they are
engaged in fighting, there is exacted from them as mu
various taxes as is expedient, while any service which t
to perform when present devolves upon their wives and

[12] Originally equivalent to the Arabic *marā'ī* 'pasturage levy' thi
afterwards applied to irregular levies in general. See Minorsky, N
Ṭūsī on Finance, 783-4.

[13] The *iam* of Rubruck, who however takes the word as meaning
in charge of such a station, and the *yanb* of Marco Polo.

[14] In Turkish 'post horse'.

them that remain behind. Thus if work be afoot in which a man has his share of forced labour *(bigār)*, and if the man himself be absent, his wife goes forth in person and performs that duty in his stead.

The reviewing and mustering of the army[15] has been so arranged that [23] they have abolished the registry of inspection *(daftar-i-'arẓ)* and dismissed the officials and clerks. For they have divided all the people into companies of ten, appointing one of the ten to be the commander of the nine others; while from among each ten commanders one has been given the title of 'commander of the hundred', all the hundred having been placed under his command. And so it is with each thousand men and so also with each ten thousand, over whom they have appointed a commander whom they call 'commander of the *tümen*'.[16] In accordance with this arrangement, if in an emergency any man or thing be required, they apply to the commanders of *tümen*; who in turn apply to the commanders of thousands, and so on down to the commanders of tens. There is a true equality in this; each man toils as much as the next, and no difference is made between them, no attention being paid to wealth or power. If there is a sudden call for soldiers an order is issued that so many thousand men must present themselves in such and such a place at such and such an hour of that day or night. '*They shall not retard it* (their appointed time) *an hour; and they shall not advance it.*'[17] And they arrive not a twinkling of an eye before or after the appointed hour. Their obedience and submissiveness is such that if there be a commander of a hundred thousand between whom and the Khan there is a distance of sunrise and sunset, and if he but commit some fault, the Khan dispatches a single horseman to punish him after the manner prescribed: if his head has been demanded, he cuts it off, and if gold be required, he takes it from him.

How different it is with other kings who must speak cautiously to their own slave, bought with their own money, as soon as he has ten horses in his stable, to say nothing of when they place

15 Cf. Marco Polo's account, Benedetto, 86–7.

16 In Turkish 'ten thousand'.

17 Koran, vii, 32.

an army under his command and he attains to w
power; then they cannot displace him, and more (
not he actually rises in rebellion and insurrection!
these kings prepare to attack an enemy or are themselve
by an enemy, months and years are required to equip
and it takes a brimful treasury to meet the expense
and allotments of land. When they draw their pay a
ances the soldiers' numbers increase by hundreds and t
but on the day of combat their ranks are everywhere
uncertain, and none presents himself on the battle-fi
shepherd was once called to render an account of
Said the accountant: 'How many sheep remain?' '
asked the shepherd. 'In the register.' 'That,' re
shepherd [24], 'is why I asked: there are none in
This is a parable to be applied to their armies; wh
commander, in order to increase the appropriation for
pay, declares, 'I have so and so many men,' and at th
inspection they impersonate one another in order to
their full strength.

Another *yasa* is that no man may depart to another
the hundred, thousand or ten to which he has been
nor may he seek refuge elsewhere. And if this order
gressed the man who transferred is executed in the p
the troops, while he that received him is severely punis
this reason no man can give refuge to another; if (for
the commander be a prince, he does not permit th
person to take refuge in his company and so avoids a
the *yasa*. Therefore no man can take liberties with
mander or leader, nor can another commander entice l

[18] Lit.: '. . . their ranks are *ḥashv* from beginning to end, and r
bāriz on the battle-field.' *ḥashv* and *bāriz* were terms of accountanc
referring to items in kind entered in the right-hand (i.e. the first) c
ledger whilst the latter referred to the final cash entries in the left-h
The point seems to be that the value of the *ḥashv* entry, as opposed
was liable to fluctuation and perhaps to very considerable depreci
time it was finally converted into cash and so became *bāriz*. On th
see 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Kiya, *Die Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, 28
Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert, 315.

Furthermore, when moonlike damsels are found in the army they are gathered together and dispatched from the tens to the hundreds, and each man makes a different choice up to the commander of the *tümen*, who makes his choice also and takes the maidens so chosen to the Khan or the princes. These too make their selection, and upon those that are deemed worthy and are fair to look upon they recite the words '*Keep them honourably*,'[19] and upon the other, '*Put them away with kindness*.'[19] And they cause them to attend on the Royal Ladies until such time as it pleases them to bestow them on others or to lie with them themselves.[20]

Again, when the extent of their territories became broad and vast and important events fell out, it became essential to ascertain the activities of their enemies, and it was also necessary to transport goods from the West to the East and from the Far East to the West. Therefore throughout the length and breadth of the land they established *yams*, and made arrangements for the upkeep and expenses of each *yam*, assigning thereto a fixed number of men and beasts as well as food, drink and other necessities. All this they shared out amongst the *tümen*, each two *tümen* having to supply one *yam*. Thus, in accordance with the census, they so distribute and exact the charge, that messengers need make no long detour in order to obtain fresh mounts while at the same time the peasantry [25] and the army are not placed in constant inconvenience. Moreover strict orders were issued to the messengers with regard to the sparing of the mounts, etc., to recount all of which would delay us too long. Every year the *yams* are inspected, and whatever is missing or lost has to be replaced by the peasantry.[21]

Since all countries and peoples have come under their domination, they have established a census after their accustomed fashion

[19] Koran, ii, 229.

[20] For an account of the practice under Qubilai see Benedetto, 114–16. Cf. also Carpini ed. Beazley, 121: '. . . yea, often times he [i.e. the Emperor] makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men.'

[21] For an account of the working of this system in China see Benedetto, 152–7.

and classified everyone into tens, hundreds and thousands required military service and the equipment of *yams* togeth the expenses entailed and the provision of fodder—this in ac to ordinary taxes; and over and above all this they hav the *qupchur* charges also.

They have a custom that if an official or a peasant die, t not interfere with the estate he leaves, be it much or litt may anyone else tamper with it. And if he have no he given to his apprentice or his slave. On no account property of a dead man admitted to the treasury, for they such a procedure as inauspicious.

When Hülegü[22] appointed me to [the governorsh Baghdad, the inheritance taxes were in force in all that r I swept away that system and abolished the imposts th been levied in the countries of Tustar[23] and Bayat.[24]

There are many other *yasas*, to record each of which delay us too long; we have therefore limited ourselves mention of the above.

[III]

CHINGIZ-KHAN'S RISE TO POWER AND THE BEGINN OF THE PASSING TO HIM OF THE EMPIRES AND KINGDOMS OF THE KINGS OF THE WORLD: A BRIEF[1] ACCOUNT THEREOF

THE tribes and clans of the Mongols are many; but that to-day is most renowned for its nobility and greatness a

[22] HWLAKW. Juvaini's spelling perhaps indicates the Turkish ciation of the name. The native pronunciation (Hüle'ü) is represente Alau of Marco Polo, the Hulawu or Hōlawu of the Armenian sources HLAW of Juzjani.

[23] I.e. Shustar in Khuzistan.

[24] The westernmost district of Khuzistan (north of the Kerkha). (V

[1] It is in fact a very brief summary with no mention of the vicissitud early life, his rivalry with Jamuqa or his campaigns against the Tatar, th and the Naiman. For an account of his career previous to his invasio West see the *Secret History*, Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, Vladimirtsov, *Khan*, and Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde*.

precedence over the others is the tribe of the Qiyat,[2] of which the forefathers [26] and ancestors of Chingiz-Khan were the chieftains and from which they traced their descent.

Chingiz-Khan bore the name of Temüjin[3] until the time when, in accordance with the decree of '"*Be*," *and it is*,'[4] he became master of all the kingdoms of the habitable world. In those days Ong-Khan,[5] the ruler of the Kereit and the *Saqiyat,[6] surpassed the other tribes in strength and dignity and was stronger than they in gear and equipment and the number

[2] Actually the Qïyat or Kiyat were a sub-division of the Mongol clan of the Borjigin.

[3] Reading TMWJYN with B and C for the TMRJYN of the text, which would give Temürjin. Both forms are possible but Temüjin is the older and is the form used in the *Secret History*, the *Yüan shih* and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*. The name is derived from *temür* 'iron' and means 'blacksmith'. This accounts for Rubruck's statement (Rockhill, 114 and 249) that Chingiz-Khan had actually been a blacksmith. According to the *Secret History*, the Chinese sources and Rashid-ad-Din he was so called after a Tatar chieftain Temüjin-Üke whom his father had brought in as a prisoner at the time of his birth.

[4] Koran. ii, 111.

[5] The Unc of Rubruck and the Unc Kan of Marco Polo, who identified him with Prester John. In fact Ong is the Mongol pronunciation of the Chinese title *wang* 'prince' conferred on him by the Chin in recognition of the part he had played in one of their campaigns against the Tatar. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 117–20. His real name was Toghrïl (To'oril in Mongol). On his early career see the *Secret History*, §177, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 116–17. His people, the Kereit, perhaps of Turkish origin, were Nestorian Christians; they lived along the Orkhon and Tula between the Khangai and Kentei mountains.

[6] The printed text has SAQYZ, i.e. Saqïz, and M.Q. reproduces a note by Blochet to the effect that Saqïz is the equivalent of Naiman because *saqïz* means 'eight' in Turkish as does *naiman* in Mongol. There are, as Pelliot has pointed out (*Campagnes*, 220), two decisive objections to this theory. In the first place the Turkish for 'eight' is not *saqïz* but *sekiz*, and secondly Ong-Khan, far from being the ruler of the Naiman, was the bitter enemy of that people and was constantly at war with them. Pelliot suggests that for the SAQYR of the MSS. (which also occurs in Vassaf, Bombay ed., 558, the SAQYZ of the text being an amendment due to the editor) we should read the form here adopted, viz. SAQYT, corresponding to the SAQYAT, i.e. Saqïyat, mentioned by Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, V, 95, and VII, 122; Khetagurov, 128) among the Kereit tribes. The name is omitted in Berezin's text (VII, 122), perhaps because it occurred in only one of his MSS. and is there followed by a blank. In Khetagurov the tribes are listed in a different order, the Saqïyat (or Sakait as he calls them) appearing after the Qonqïyat, not after the Jirgin as in Berezin, and in place of the blank is the short sentence: 'They also are a tribe.'

of his men. And in those days the Mongol tribe. united and did not obey one another. When Chir rose from the grade of childhood to the degree of ma: became in the onslaught like a roaring lion and in like a trenchant sword; in the subjugation of his foes and severity had the taste of poison, and in the humbl pride of each lord of fortune his harshness and feroci work of Fate. Upon every occasion, by reason of th of their confines and the proximity of their territories, l visit Ong-Khan, and there was a feeling of friendshi| them. When Ong-Khan beheld his counsel and di: his valour, splendour and majesty, he marvelled at hi and energy and did all that lay in his power to ad\ honour him. Day by day he raised his station and until all affairs of state were dependent upon him and Khan's troops and followers controlled by his disci justice. The sons and brothers of Ong-Khan and hi. and favourites became envious of the rank and favour h(they accordingly cast the nets of guile across the passag by opportunity and set the traps of treachery to effect th ing of his name; in the ambushes of private audience: out the story of his power and pre-eminence and re| tale of the inclination of all hearts towards obed allegiance to him. In the guise of well-wishers they stories fresh until Ong-Khan too became suspicious ol was doubtful as to what he should do; and fear a of his courage and intrepidity became implanted in Since it was impossible to attack him and [27] break openly, he thought to remove him by craft and gui hinder by fraud and treachery God's secret design in him. It was agreed, therefore, that at dawn, while anointed with the collyrium of sleep and mankind wa negligent by repose, Ong-Khan's men should mak attack upon Chingiz-Khan and his followers and themselves from their fears. They made every prepa: the deed and were about to put their intention into act since his luck was vigilant and his fortune kind, two

Ong-Khan's service, one of them named Kishlik [7] and the other Bada, fled to Chingiz-Khan and informed him of the badness of their faith and the uncleanness of their treachery. He at once sent off his family and followers and had the tents moved away.[8] When at the appointed time, in the dawn, the enemy charged down upon the tents they found them empty. Though the accounts [9] differ here as to whether they then returned or whether they at once took up the pursuit, the upshot of the matter was that Ong-Khan set off in search of him with a large force of men, while Chingiz-Khan had but a small force with him. There is a spring [in that region] which they call Baljuna:[10] here they joined battle and fierce fighting ensued.[11] In the end Chingiz-Khan with his small army routed Ong-Khan with his great host and won much booty. This event occurred in the year 599/1202–3,[12] and the names of all who took part therein [13] are recorded, whether base or noble, from princes down to slaves, tent-pitchers, grooms, Turks, Taziks and Indians. As for those two youths, he made them *tarkhan*. *Tarkhan* are those who are

[7] The text has KLK, which, as M.Q. suggests, must be a corruption of KSLK or KŠLK. The name appears in Rashid-ad-Din as Qïshlïq (QYŠLYQ) and in the *Secret History* as Kishliq. Qïshlïq was still in attendance on the conqueror on his return journey from the campaign against the West. See Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 118.

[8] I.e. *moved a short distance away*, because it is clear from the context that they did not take the tents with them.

[9] An interesting reference to Juvaini's sources. Neither the *Secret History* nor Rashid-ad-Din mentions the attack on Chingiz-Khan's deserted encampment.

[10] It is not clear from the sources whether Baljuna is the name of a river or of a lake. Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 45–7, discusses the problem of its identity at some length and reaches the conclusion that it is to be sought somewhere along the lower course of the Kerulen. See now, however, Hung, *Three of Ch'ien Tahsin's Poems on Yüan History*, 20–24, n. 4.

[11] None of the other sources mention any fighting at Baljuna. This is probably a reference to the encounter at Qalqaljit-Elet, where Chingiz-Khan won a 'victoire à la Pyrrhus, qui fut peut-être une défaite' (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 46). See the *Secret History*, §§170–1, Smirnova, 124–6, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 157–60.

[12] 1203 according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 21).

[13] I.e. all who were with Chingiz-Khan at Baljuna. See Smirnova, 126, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 171–2. The story of those who 'drank the water of the Baljuna river' is not recorded in the *Secret History*, and doubts have been cast on its authenticity, but see now Cleaves, *The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant*.

exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom · taken on every campaign is surrendered: whenever the they may enter the royal presence without leave or pe He also gave them troops and slaves and of cattle, h accoutrement more than could be counted or comput commanded that [28] whatever offence they might con should not be called to account therefor; and that t should be observed with their posterity also down to generation. To-day there are many people descended fr two persons, and they are honoured and respected country, and held in high esteem at the courts of ki for the rest of those that took part in this battle, they all high rank, and the very tent-pitchers and camel-driver to great dignity; some became kings of the age, while o to great offices of state and became famous throughout th

When Chingiz-Khan's army had been reinforced, in prevent Ong-Khan from rallying, he dispatched troops him. Several times they joined battle, and on each occ was victorious and Ong-Khan defeated. Finally all th family and retainers, even his wives and daughters, Chingiz-Khan's hand; and he himself was slain.

And when Chingiz-Khan's cause prospered and th his fortune were in the ascendant, he dispatched envo other tribes also; and all that came to tender submissi as the Oirat [14] and the Qonqurat,[15] were admitted to the of his commanders and followers and were regarded eye of indulgence and favour; while as for the refrac rebellious, he struck the breath from their bodies with of calamity and the sword of annihilation; until all t

[14] A forest tribe on the western shores of Lake Baikal.

[15] QNQWRAT. The Qonqïrat of Rashid-ad-Din and the C the *Secret History*. It was to this tribe, in the extreme east of Mon Borte, Chingiz-Khan's first and chief wife, belonged. Juvaini's spel name is interesting. Pelliot remarks (*Campagnes*, 406–7): 'La forr kurat", adoptée comme correcte par Howorth, I, 703, II, 14, et qui exemple dans Elias et Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 16, n'est attestée et ne repose sur rien.' In fact it goes back to the form used by Juva form, in turn, is perhaps to be explained as an imagined derivatio Turkish *qongbur* 'chestnut-coloured', 'bay', and *at* 'horse'.

were of one colour and obedient to his command. Then he established new laws and laid the foundation of justice; and whichever of their customs were abominable, such as theft and adultery, he abolished; something of which has been mentioned in the previous chapter.

At this time there arose a man of whom I have heard from trustworthy Mongols that during the severe cold that prevails in those regions he used to walk naked through the desert and the mountains and then to return and say: 'God has spoken with me and has said: "I have given all the face of the earth to Temüjin and his children and named him Chingiz-Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion."' They called this person Teb-Tengri,[16] and whatever he said [29] Chingiz-Khan used implicitly to follow. Thus he too grew strong; and many followers having gathered around him, there arose in him the desire for sovereignty. One day in the course of a banquet, he engaged in altercation with one of the princes;[17] and that prince, in the midst of the assembly, threw him so heavily upon the ground that he never rose again.

In short, when these regions had been purged of rebels and all the tribes had become as his army, he dispatched ambassadors to Khitai, and afterwards went there in person, and slew Altun-Khan,[18] the Emperor of Khitai, and subjugated the country. And gradually he conquered other kingdoms also, as shall be hereinafter separately mentioned.

[16] Reading TB TNKRY for the BT TNKRY of the text. Teb-Tengri, i.e. 'Most Heavenly', was actually a sort of title, the shaman's real name being Kökchü. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 225–8.

[17] According to the *Secret History*, §245, this was Chingiz-Khan's youngest full brother, Temüge-Otchigin (the Otegin of Juvaini). He and Teb-Tengri wrestled for a while in the Khan's presence and were then ordered outside. Temüge had posted three men in the doorway; they fell upon Teb-Tengri, dragged him to one side and broke his backbone. See also Grousset, *op. cit.*, 229–32.

[18] I.e. the Chin Emperor, *altun* in Turkish, like *chin* in Chinese, meaning 'gold': the Golden King of Marco Polo. Chin was the dynastic title adopted by the leaders of the Jürchen, a people of North Manchuria, who in 1123 expelled the Khitan (Liao) Dynasty from Northern China. In fact no Chin Emperor was put to death by Chingiz-Khan and the reference is perhaps to the suicide of the last ruler of the dynasty in 1234 during the reign of Ögedei. See below, p. 195; also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 292.

[IV]

OF THE SONS OF CHINGIZ-KHAN

CHINGIZ-KHAN had much issue, both male and female, by his wives and concubines. His eldest wife was Yesünjin Beki.[1] Now according to the custom of the Mongols the rank of the children of one father is in proportion to that of their mothers, so that the child of an elder wife is accorded greater preference and precedence. By this wife Chingiz-Khan had four sons who had risked their lives in the execution of great affairs and glorious actions and were to the throne of the kingdom as its four pedestals and to the palace of the khanate as its four pillars. For each of these Chingiz-Khan had selected a special office. To Tushi,[2] the eldest, he assigned hunting and the chase, which is a great sport with the Mongols and held in high esteem by them; while to Chaghatai,[3] who came next to him, fell the administration of the *yasa* and the law, both the enforcement thereof and the reprimanding and chastisement of those that contravened it. Ögetei[4] he selected for [all that called for] understanding and counsel and for the administration of the kingdom; and Toli[5] he promoted to the command and organization of troops and the equipment of armies. When the matter of Ong-Khan had been disposed of [30] and the tribes of the Mongols had, some by

[1] Actually her name was Börte. Perhaps Juvaini confused her with Hülegü's wife Yesunjin, the mother of his successor Abaqa.

[2] TWŠY. So spelt by Juzjani also; Nasawi has DWŠY. The Tossuc or Tosuccan of Carpini. The pronunciation is uncertain and may be either Toshi, Toshi or Tüshi. It is apparently the Turkish form of the native Jochi, Jochi or Juchi. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 10–27, discusses this name at considerable length but reaches no definite conclusion as to the pronunciation or meaning.

[3] JITAY. In the *Secret History* he is called Cha'adai: the Chiaaday, etc., of Carpini.

[4] AWKTAY. In the *Secret History* he is called Ögödei or Öködei. Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 10, suggests that the name may be a derivative of Üke, the second element of Temüjin-Üke, the name of the Tatar prisoner after whom Chingiz-Khan was called. See above, p. 35, n. 3. Carpini has the form Occoday.

[5] TWLY. The usual form of the name is Tolui. Juvaini's spelling is interesting in view of the statement of Rashid-ad-Din that upon his death the use of the word *toli* 'mirror' was declared taboo. See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 147.

choice and some by compulsion, been reduced to his command and rendered submissive and obedient to his orders, he divided the tribes and peoples of the Mongols and the Naiman,[6] as well as all the armies, between the aforesaid sons; and to each of his other younger sons and to his brothers and kinsmen he allotted their share of the armies. And thereafter he was wont to urge the strengthening of the edifice of concord and the consolidation of the foundations of affection between sons and brothers; and used continually to sow the seed of harmony and concord in the breasts of his sons and brothers and kinsfolk and to paint in their hearts the picture of mutual aid and assistance. And by means of parables he would fortify that edifice and reinforce those foundations. One day[7] he called his sons together and taking an arrow from his quiver he broke it in half. Then he took two arrows and broke them also. And he continued to add to the bundle until there were so many arrows that even athletes were unable to break them. Then turning to his sons he said: 'So it is with you also. A frail arrow, when it is multiplied and supported by its fellows, not even mighty warriors are able to break it but in impotence withdraw their hands therefrom. As long, therefore, as you brothers support one another and render stout assistance one to another, though your enemies be men of great strength and might, yet shall they not gain the victory over you. But if there be no leader among you, to whose counsel the other brothers, and sons, and helpmeets, and companions submit themselves and to whose command they yield obedience, then your case will be like unto that of the snake of many heads. One night, when it was bitterly cold, the heads desired to creep into a hole in order to

[6] An interesting distinction in view of Pelliot's theory that the Naiman, who inhabited the region to the west of the Khangai, were in fact Mongolized Turks. See Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 30; also Hambis, *La Haute-Asie*, 58 and 59.

[7] This anecdote is briefly repeated below, ii. 593–4, and M.Q. there comments that it is a very old story and is related in Tabari of the famous Umayyad general Muhallab. It is in fact much older still being Aesop's fable of the husbandman and his quarrelsome sons. There is no reason, however, for supposing that Juvaini drew on other than Mongol sources, for the story is also to be found in the *Secret History*, where it is related (§§ 19–20) not of Chingiz-Khan himself but of his mythical ancestress, Alan Qo'a.

ward off the chill. But as each head entered the hole another head would oppose it; and in this way they all perished. But another snake, which had but one head and a long tail, entered the hole and found room for his tail and all his limbs and members, which were preserved from the fury of the cold.' And there were many such parables which he adduced in order to confirm in their minds his words of counsel. They afterwards always abided by this principle; and although authority and empire are apparently vested in one man, namely him who is nominated Khan, [31] yet in reality all the children, grandchildren and uncles have their share of power and property; a proof whereof is that the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an in the second *quriltai* apportioned and divided all his kingdoms among his kinsfolk, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters.

When during the reign of Chingiz-Khan the kingdom became of vast extent he assigned to everyone his place of abode, which they call *yurt*. Thus to Otegin Noyan,[8] his brother, and to some of his grandchildren he apportioned territory in the regions of Khitai. To his eldest son, Tushi, he gave the territory stretching from the regions of Qayaligh [9] and Khorazm [10] to the remotest parts of Saqsin [11] and Bulghar [12] and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated. Chaghatai received the territory extending from the land of the

[8] I.e. Temuge-Otchigin. *ot-tigin* (in Mongol *ot-chigin*) from the Turkish *ot* 'fire' and *tigin* 'lord', i.e. 'lord of the fire (hearth)', was the title of the youngest son as inheriting the Father's *yurt*. See Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 60.

[9] Qayaligh or Qayaliq, the Cailac of Rubruck, lay a little to the west of the modern Kopal.

[10] In Persian Khwārazm. The ancient Chorasmia and the later Khanate of Khiva. The Khorazm Oasis is now divided between Uzbekistan (Khorezm Oblast) and Turkmenistan (Tashauz Oblast).

[11] Saqsin was a town and territory on the Volga. The position of the town is discussed at length by Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 165–74. He agrees (*loc. cit.*, 169) with Marquart that it was situated 40 days downstream from Bulghar, i.e. on the lower reaches of the Volga.

[12] I.e. the territory of the Volga Bulghars, not here the actual town of Bulghar, of which the ruins are situated near the village of Bolgarskoye, 'in the Spassk district, 115 Km. south of Kazan and at 7 Km. from the left bank of the Volga'. (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 461.)

to Samarqand and Bokhara, and his place of residence Quyas in the neighbourhood of Almaligh. The capital ei, the heir-apparent, during his father's reign was his he region of the Emil[13] and the Qobaq;[14] but when he d the throne of the Khanate he removed it to their homeland, between Khitai and the land of the Uighur, e that other fief to his own son Güyük:[15] an account of ous dwelling places has been recorded separately.[16] Toli's likewise, lay [32] adjacent thereto, and indeed this the middle of their empire like the centre of a circle. we have related is but an insignificant part of the story. ldren and grandchildren of Chingiz-Khan are more than usand, each of whom has his own position *(maqām)*, ay and equipment. To record them all is impossible: pose in relating this much was to show the harmony prevails among them as compared with what is related ng other kings, how brother falls upon brother and son s the ruin of father till of necessity they are vanquished quered and their authority is downfallen and overthrown. *mighty hath said: 'And dispute not lest ye become faint- nd your success go from you.'*[17] Whereas by mutual aid stance those khans of the children of Chingiz-Khan ceeded him on the throne have conquered the whole nd utterly annihilated their enemies. Now the purpose tales and histories is that the intelligent man may learn

AYL. Emil is the name of a river, south of Chuguchak, flowing la Kul. It was also, in Mongol times, the name of a town (the Omyl i) in the region of the Emil.

ing QWBAQ with Pelliot (*Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [206]–[207], the QWNAQ of the text. Of Qobaq Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, says: 'De Emil survit comme nom de la rivière Emil, Qobaq est encore aujourd'hui une rivière Qoboq (" Chobuq " des cartes allemandes) à l'Est de l'Emil. ntiellement la vallée de ces deux rivières qui constituait l'apanage Güyük.'

VK. The form Küyük is perhaps preferable for Juvaini in view of of Carpini and the Keuchan of Rubruck. Güyük is the native orm or at any rate the form used in the *Secret History*.

Chapter XXXIII.

n, viii, 48.

without the pain of experience and be edified by the study of these discourses.

[V]

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND OF THE UIGHUR AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE *IDI-QUT*

THE Uighur Turks call their ruler *idi-qut,* which means *lord of fortune.*[1] At that time the *idi-qut* was a certain Barchuq. During the spring when [the Emperor of] the Qara-Khitai [2] subjugated Transoxiana and Turkestan, he too entered the noose of allegiance and accepted the payment of tribute; and the Emperor sent him a *shahna* [3] named Shaukem.[4] This Shaukem, once he was

[1] Juvaini has evidently confused the first element of the name with *idi* 'lord', 'owner', which occurs for example in the compound name Ulush-Idi (see Chapter XIII), i.e. 'Lord of the *ulus*'. *Lord of Fortune* would be * *qut-idi.* Actually *ïdï-qut* (cf. the Idu'ut of the *Secret History,* § 238), 'Holy Majesty', is a title which the Uighur took over from the earlier Basmïl. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs,* 37.

[2] Lit. the Black Khitai, the 'Karakitai sive nigri Kitay' of Carpini (Wyngaert, 88). This name was given to a branch of the Khitan who migrated westward after the overthrow of their dynasty by the Jürchen (see above, p. 39, n. 18), and founded an empire in Eastern Turkestan. On their history see below, pp. 354–61; also Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 219–22, and Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society : Liao,* 619–73.

[3] The Arabo-Persian word *shahna* is used by Juvaini as a synonym of the Turkish *basqaq* and the Mongol *darugha* or *darughachin* (see below, p. 105, n. 24), i.e. the representative of the conqueror in conquered territory responsible in particular for the collection of tribute. The word is used in the same sense in the Armenian chronicler Grigor (310 and 312).

[4] ŠAWKM. Shaukem is actually the Chinese title *shao-chien* 'junior supervisor'. This and *chien-kuo* 'state supervisor', apparently representing a higher rank than *shao-chien,* were the Qara-Khitai terms corresponding to *shahna, basqaq,* etc. (see previous note). See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* 666. A somewhat different account of the *shahna's* end is given in a Chinese source, *The Chronicle of the Hsieh Family of Kao-ch'ang.* When the *shao-chien* was surrounded he took refuge in a tower, whereupon a certain Bilge, the instigator of this attack upon the Qara-Khitai agent, followed him up the stairs, cut off his head and hurled it to the ground. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* also Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,* 488. According both to the Chinese sources and to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 152) this event took place in 1209.

firmly established in his office, began to behave with tyranny and injustice, treating the *idi-qut* and his commanders with contumely and rending the veil of their honour; so that he became an object of detestation both to the nobles and to the common people. When Chingiz-Khan had made himself master of Khitai and the fame and report of his victory had been noised abroad, the *idi-qut* gave orders that Shaukem should be encompassed in a house in the town [5] which they call Qara-Khoja [6] and that the house should be pulled down upon his head. Then, in order to announce his rebellion [33] against the Qara-Khitai and his allegiance to the world-conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, he dispatched to the latter Qut-Almish-Qaya,[7] 'Umar Oghul [8] and Tarbai.[9] Chingiz-Khan showed every honour to these ambassadors but intimated that the *idi-qut* should make haste to present himself in person. The latter obeyed this command with alacrity, and upon his arrival witnessed the fulfilment

[5] *dih*. This word normally means 'village', but cf. below, p. 133, where it is used to translate the Turkish *balïgh* 'town'.

[6] QRA XWAJH. Qocho or Qara-Khoja, the Carachoco of Marco Polo, known at an earlier period as Chinanch-Kath, 'the Chinese town', lay some 45 kilometres to the east of Turfan in what is now the Chinese province of Sinkiang. The ruins are still known as Ïdïqut-Shehri, i.e. 'the *ïdï-qut's* town'. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 271.

[7] QTALMŠ QYA (reading QYA for the QTA of the text). Qut-Almïsh means 'he that has received fortune (majesty)'. *qaya* 'rock', as Pelliot has pointed out, *Horde d'Or*, 70, n. 1, often forms the second element of proper names.

[8] I.e. *Prince* 'Umar. See above, p. 26, n. 6. To judge by his name he must have been a Mohammedan.

[9] TARBAY. The Darbai of the *Secret History*, §238, where he is accompanied by At-Kiraq (or Al-Buiruq). In Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, XV, 15–16, Smirnova, 152) he also appears as Darbai (spelt DRBAY, which both Berezin and Smirnova read as Durbai) and is accompanied by one Alp-Ünük (?) or Alp-Ütük (?), perhaps identical with the Al-Buiruq of the *Secret History*. Here however Darbai and his companion are represented as the envoys, not of the *ïdï-qut*, but of Chingiz-Khan himself. As the result of their embassy the *ïdï-qut* sends his own ambassadors to the Khan, and their names are given as Bügüsh-Ish Aighuchï (Smirnova has Bargush instead of Bügüsh) and Alghïn-Temür. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Uighur (Berezin, VII, 164, Khetagurov, 148) Rashid-ad-Din gives the same names as Juvaini for the *ïdï-qut's* ambassadors, but Tarbai is corrupted to Tatari (TATARY) in Berezin's text and Tatar in Khetagurov's translation and the latter has changed Qut-Almïsh-Qaya into Kalmish-Kata.

of all the promises that had been made to him an
from thence loaded with honours. When the arn
against Küchlüg,[10] the *idi-qut* received orders to prese
with warriors from the Uighur country. In obedie
command he joined Chingiz-Khan with three hur
and rendered him assistance. When he returned
campaign, he was allowed to have a retinue of his tr
and servants. Finally, when Chingiz-Khan set out
against the lands of Sultan Muhammad he was a
manded to mount horse with his army. When t
Chaghatai and Ögetei proceeded to their posts to la
Otrar,[11] he too accompanied them. After the captur
Törbei,[12] Yasa'ur [13] and Ghadaq [14] led an army to
and that region; and he too was sent with them.
the royal standards reached the original encamp
Chingiz-Khan marched against the Tangut, he also

[10] KWČLK. For the career of Küchlüg the Naiman see bel
VIII.

[11] The ruins of Otrar, the earlier Fārāb, are situated on the righ
Syr Darya near the mouth of the Arïs. It was here, on the easte
Muhammad Khorazm-Shah's empire, that Chingiz-Khan's envoy
dered (see below, pp. 79–80); and it was here, in 1405, that Ta
whilst on his way to attack China.

[12] TRBAY, for which D has TWRTAY, i.e. TWRBAY.
as is suggested by M.Q. in his index, is probably identical wit
Toqshin who was sent across the Indus in pursuit of Sultan Jalal-
below, Chapter XXIV.

[13] Reading YS'WR with E, I, 92, for the YSTWR of the text

[14] ·DAQ. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 417, has confused this pers
Alaq who led the expedition against Banakat. See my article,
in the Secret History of the Mongols, 409, n. 33, where I suggest his po
with Qadaq Ba'atur of the Jirgin (*Secret History*, §§ 170 and 185).
sponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din, Berezin's text (VII, 164), li
has 'LAF, which he translates as 'provisions for the campaign'
corrupt form occurs in all Khetagurov's MSS.: he reads *'allāf*
'provider of fodder for the [army] animals'. On the other hand, V.
sky, who translated the passage for Radloff, had recognized that
represent a proper name. See Khetagurov, 148, n. 6. Barhebr
form ГLAQ.

[15] The Vakhsh is a right-bank affluent of the Oxus or Amu D
is now Tajikistan. Vakhsh was also the name of a district on
the Vakhsh.

ment of orders, set out from Besh-Baligh [16] with his army in order to join him.

In recognition of these praiseworthy services Chingiz-Khan distinguished him with extraordinary attentions and favours; and betrothed one of his own daughters to him. Owing to the death of Chingiz-Khan this daughter remained behind; and he returned to Besh-Baligh. When Qa'an ascended the throne, in fulfilment of his father's command he bestowed Altun [34] Beki [17] upon him; but he had not yet arrived at Court when she died. After some time Qa'an betrothed Alajin Beki [18] to him, but before she was delivered up to him the *idi-qut* was no more. His son Kesmes [19] then presented himself at Court,

[16] Lit. 'Five Towns' from the Turkish *besh* 'five' and *balïgh* or rather *balïq* 'town'. Besh-Balïgh was situated in the present-day Sinkiang, slightly to the north-west of Guchen.

[17] I.e. *Princess* Altun. The Al-Altun of the *Secret History* (§ 238). Rashid-ad-Din calls her Altan Beki (Khetagurov, 149) and El-Altï or Il-Altï (Smirnova, in the table facing 73). In the *Yüan shih* she is referred to in the biography of the *ïdï-qut* Barchuq, Chapter 122 (*ts'e* 38), 1I4–5r3 (2v5), as Yeh-li An-tun (El-Aldun) and in the table of imperial princesses, Chapter 109 (*ts'e* 36), 1I4–3v as Yeh-li K'o-tun (El-Qadun), in which latter case, as Hambis has suggested, *Le chapitre CVIII*, 133, *qadun* (i.e. *qatun* 'princess') was probably substituted by the editor for *altun*. Professor F. W. Cleaves, of Harvard University, to whom I am indebted for these references to the *Yüan shih*, remarks in a letter dated the 2nd August, 1955, that in neither passage is there any indication that the princess was not actually married to Barchuq. Her betrothal or marriage to the Uighur ruler was known to Rubruck: 'These Iugurs used to inhabit the cities which first obeyed Chingis chan, who therefore gave his daughter to their king.' (Rockhill, 149.) This statement, which has the authority both of Juvaini and of the Far Eastern sources, has been disputed by Rubruck's editors. 'Friar William would seem to have been misinformed on this point, for I can find no record of Chingis having given one of his daughters in marriage to an Uighur prince.' (Rockhill, *loc. cit.*, n. 1.) 'Filia Chingis in uxorem data est Regi Merkitarum, non autem Uigurorum, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 419.' (Wyngaert, 233, n. 2.)

[18] I.e. Princess Alajin. The text has ALAJY in l. 2 and ALAJYN in l. 4. The name appears to be the feminine form of *ala* 'mottled'. Perhaps this lady was the daughter of Ögedei: she is nowhere mentioned as the daughter of Chingiz-Khan. The *Yüan shih*, so Professor Cleaves informs me in the letter referred to in the previous note, says nothing of her marriage to the *ïdï-qut* in place of the deceased Altun Beki.

[19] Reading KSMAS, which C has for the KSMAYN of the text in 1. 4. The meaning of the name would appear to be 'he that does not cut'.

became *idi-qut* and married Alajin Beki. After a short space the *idi-qut* Kesmes likewise passed away; and at the command of Queen Töregene [20] his brother Salindi [21] took his place and was called *idi-qut*. He was firmly established on the throne and held in high esteem; '*and the giver of success is God*'.

[VI]

OF THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THE UIGHUR

ALTHOUGH this chapter ought to be placed after that on the accession of Mengü Qa'an, nevertheless as the general arrangement of this history favoured its insertion in this place it seemed appropriate to observe this order.

When the empire of the universe had been settled upon the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, there arose dissension because of the treachery which certain people were meditating.[1] These persons dispatched to the *idi-qut* [2] a certain Bala Bitikchi,[3] an Uighur and an idolater, and one of the ministers of the kingdom ('*like being ever attracted unto like*'). Bala Bitikchi tempted the *idi-qut* with many promises and with countless inducements; he suggested among other things that the Uighur should slay all the Moslems in Besh-Baligh and its environs, pillaging their property and leading their children captive; and that they should fit out an army of fifty thousand men to render assistance in case of need. Of the Uighur nobles that were privy [35] to this conspiracy were Bilge Quti,[4] Bolmish-Buqa,[5] Saqun [6] and

[20] The widow of Ögedei and the Regent of the Empire. See below, Chapter XXXIV.

[21] SALNDY.

[1] On the conspiracy against Möngke see below.

[2] Apparently Salindi. See above.

[3] I.e. Bala the *bitikchi* (*bitigchi*), the Scribe.

[4] Reading BYLKAQTY for the BYLKAFTY of the text. Cf. the title of Bilge Qut conferred upon the Bilge who slew the *shao-chien* of the Qara-Khitai. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 488, also above, p. 44, n. 4. Professor Cleaves informs me in a letter dated the 6th February, 1956, that the Chinese transcription of the title (Pi-li-chia-hu-ti) may equally well represent Bilge Quti. For the use of *quti*,

it was agreed that they should spring from ambush in ts of the mosque upon a Friday when the congregation ;ed in prayer, and blacken the face of their lives and he army of Islam.

They will quench the glory that was kindled by God; they will lessen the grace that was given by God.

carry out this plan and accomplish this intention, pretext that he was going to Ghaimish, Khoja and idi-qut pitched his camp upon the plain; and the ne Uighur were assembled. Now one of the slaves uti, Tegmish [9] by name, had been eavesdropping one nad overheard their plans and schemes. He concealed d heard until a week later, when being involved in on with one of the Moslems in the market-place, he 'Do your worst now, for you have but three days Now at that time the Emir Saif-ad-Din, a trusted the Court and a man of lofty position and high rank, h-Baligh; and the Moslems informed him of these e sent for Tegmish and questioned him concerning which he had spoken in the midst of the altercation. or his part disclosed the real state of affairs and the esign of those malcontents. Now during these two had arrived of the accession of the World-Emperor; inge in the affairs of the conspirators became manifest. thus constrained by circumstances, abandoned that t out on the journey to Court. Saif-ad-Din sent a

ne', in the sense of 'His Highness' or 'His Majesty' see Radloff, *achdenkmäler*, 146.

BWLMYŠ BWQA for the TWKMYŠ BWQA of the text. MYŠ, D BWLMS and E BWLMYŠ for the first element of or Bulmïsh or Bolmïsh as a personal name see Radloff, *op. cit.*

I. Apparently identical with the Saghun of Kashghari (I, 403), the chief men of the Qarluq Turks.

J. The spelling is uncertain: E has ANDKAJ.

ss Oghul-Ghaimish, the widow of Güyük and the Regent of the hom see below, Chapter XXXVII) and her two sons.

Perhaps from the same root as Tekish or Tegish, the name of Khorazm-Shah's father. Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 91.

messenger to fetch him back; and when he and his followers returned and came into the presence of Saif-ad-Din, they were confronted with Tegmish, who withdrew nothing from his statement, but recounted the exact time and place of the meeting and the names of those that took part in it. They were overcome with fear and consternation [36] and bereft of wit and reason. There being no other course open to them they denied the matter and disclaimed all knowledge of it. After much clamour and wrangling on the part of the *idi-qut* and his accomplices they gave written declarations in attestation of their innocence, as did Tegmish in support of his own statement. Written undertakings were also taken from the other Uighur of note to the effect that should any one of them have had knowledge of this matter and concealed it, and should any intrigue be disclosed and revealed, he too should be reckoned in the number of the culprits and his life and property should be forfeit. Hereupon Tegmish arose and said: 'It would seem that this affair cannot be decided in Besh-Baligh. Let us go to the Court of the World-Emperor, in order that it may be thoroughly discussed and investigated in the great *yarghu*.'[10]

Tegmish, accordingly, was sent in advance with the messenger to report this affair at Court. He was ordered to halt and wait for the *idi-qut* and his followers. He halted for a while but the *idi-qut* did not appear. Tegmish then conducted Bala Bitikchi to the *yarghu*. When he denied the charge, he was, in accordance with their custom, stripped stark naked and beaten with drum-sticks until at last he declared the truth of the matter concerning their conspiracy against the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, just as it had been declared by Tegmish. He was then dismissed but detained; and Tegmish was sent back with the envoy Mengü-Bolad[11] in order to fetch the *idi-qut*. When the latter heard of the messenger's approach, before their arrival he set off

[10] In Turkish 'court of criminal investigation'.

[11] The text has MNKFWLAD and B MNKWFWLAD, but I have preferred the reading MNKWBWLAD based on the MNKWBWLAẔ and MNKBWLAT of C and D respectively, II, 247–50. *bolad* or *bolat* is the Turkish form of the Persian *pūlād* or *fūlād* 'steel'.

for Court by a different road. After Tegmish had been lording it in Besh-Baligh, where [37] each of the Uighur (who were in fear of their lives) plied him with bribes and rendered him all manner of services, he too returned in the footsteps of the *idi-qut.*

Mengeser [12] Noyan then began the inquiry. As the *idi-qut* denied the charge recourse was had to torture and questioning. They so twisted his hands that he fell upon his face in exhaustion. A wooden press was then fastened on his forehead. The jailer loosened the press and in punishment for this action received seventeen stout blows upon the posterior *(mouẓe'-i-izār).* The *idi-qut* still persisted in his denial and would make no confession. They then confronted him with Bolmish-Buqa,[13] who said: 'Nought will avail thee but the truth.' But persisting in his former error he would not confess the words that had passed between them. Bala Bitikchi was then brought in. In the face of the *idi-qut* he recounted all that had been said from beginning to end. The *idi-qut,* in great astonishment, asked, 'Art thou Bala?'[14] And as his name was Bala, he answered, 'Yes.' Then the *idi-qut* also confessed, whereupon his bonds were loosened and he was removed some distance away. Bilge-Quti too, after enduring all manner of questioning, spoke the truth and avowed his guilt. The two or three others that remained were questioned separately; and after sipping the unpalatable cup of the roughness of Tartar rods they vomited forth and declared what was hidden in their breasts. Thereafter they were all brought into the presence of one another and without the imposition of bonds and chains were questioned as to the making of their league and covenant of conspiracy and conjuration. '*They said, "Is not this it in truth?" They said, "Aye, by our Lord." He said, "Taste then the punishment for that ye would not believe."*'[15]

When confessions had been obtained from them all [38] and

[12] MNKSAR. On Mengeser see below, ii. 578–81; also Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.,* 368–9.

[13] Here the text has TKMŠ for the first element of the name, A BKMŠ, D BWKMŠ and E BKMYŠ.

[14] There is a word-play involved, since *balā* in Arabic means 'calamity'.

[15] Koran, xlvi, 33.

had been submitted to the firm judgement of the Mo
the Face of the Earth, he gave orders that the *idi-qut*
accomplices should be sent back to Besh-Baligh toget
the messengers. And on a Friday, the day on which
thought to attack the true believers, the common peo
monotheists and idolaters, were brought out on to the p
the command of the mighty World-Emperor was
execution. Ögünch,[16] the brother of the *idi-qut,* with
hand severed his head; and his two accomplices Bi
and Idkech were sawn in half. And thus was this
cleansed of the mark of the guile of these wicked infide
the impurity of their religion. '*And the uttermost par
impious people was cut off. All praise be to God, the Lo
Worlds!*'[17] The faithful were exalted and the idolate
trodden by the grace of God Almighty.

*The truth shineth forth and the swords are bared: beware
of the lions of the thicket, beware!*[18]

Now Bala Bitikchi was one of the officers of Ghaim
the time of the trial of the conspirators and their punish
their evil intent, previous to the divulgement of this se
he had been held in confinement and had despaired o
He was now taken out on to the plain with some ot
stripped naked in preparation for his execution. Bu
being ill and her illness having grown worse, as an al
for her long life those who had that day been conde
death all received their pardon. And so he escaped fro
the sword.

[16] AWKNJ. Professor Cleaves informs me in the letter quoted
in the biography of the *idi-qut* Barchuq in the *Yüan shih,* Chapter 12
114–5r3, it is stated that when Barchuq died (2v8), he was succee
second son Yü-ku-lun-ch'ih (Ügürünchi), who is obviously Juvaini'
There is no mention in the biography of an elder son (or, according
two elder sons, Kesmes and Salïndï).

[17] Koran, vi, 45.

[18] The opening line of a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of th
Caliph Mu'tasim. (M.Q.)

[19] I.e. Sorqoqtani Beki, the widow of Tolui and the mother o
Qubilai and Hülegü, on whom see below, pp. 108–9, n. 31.

Oh! how often did the field grow narrow to the fighters,
and it was yet possible to escape from amongst the lances!

In this case too, because clemency had been previously ordered, his blood remained unshed; but his wives and children, his servants and cattle, all his animate and inanimate possessions, were seized and distributed. It is the custom of the Mongols in the case of a criminal who is worthy of death [39] but whose life has been spared to send him into the wars; arguing that if he is fated to be killed he will be killed in the fighting. Or else they send him on an embassy to foreign peoples who they are not entirely certain will send him back: or again they send him to hot countries whose climate is unhealthy. And thus, on account of the heat of the climate of Egypt and Syria they dispatched Bala Bitikchi upon an embassy to those parts.

Since Saqun was not deeply involved in the conspiracy and as he had connections with the Court of Batu, he escaped with a hundred and ten stout blows upon the posterior.

As for Tegmish, who had drawn attention to the conspiracy, he received tokens of favour and benevolence; and God Almighty bestowed upon him the nobility of Islam.

After the dust of this sedition had settled Ögünch arose and went to Court. He was given his brother's office and the title of *idi-qut*.

These events took place in the year 650/1252–3.

[VII]

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE *IDI-QUT* AND THE LAND OF THE UIGHUR ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN BELIEF[1]

After writing their history we have recorded something of what is found in their books regarding their beliefs and religion; which we offer as matter for astonishment and not as truth and certainty.

[1] This chapter has been translated into French by d'Ohsson, I, 429–35, and German by Salemann in Radloff, *Das Kudaktu Bilik*, Theil I, xli-xlix.

It is the opinion of the Uighur that the beginning of their generation and increase was on the banks of the river Orqon,[2] whose source flows from a mountain which they call Qara-Qorum;[3] the town that was built by Qa'an in the present age is also called after that mountain. Thirty rivers have their sources in it; upon each river there dwelt a different people; the Uighur forming two groups upon the Orqon. When their number increased, after the manner [40] of other peoples they appointed a chief from their midst and yielded him obedience. And so they continued for five hundred years until the appearance of Buqu Khan.[4] Now it is said that Buqu Khan was Afrasiyab;[5] and there are ruins of a well, and also a great stone, on the hillside near Qara-Qorum, and this well is said to be that of Bizhan.[6]

There are also the ruins of a town and a palace on the banks of this river, of which the name is Ordu-Baligh[7] though it is now called Ma'u-Baligh.[8] Outside the ruins of the palace, opposite the gate, there lie stones engraved with inscriptions, which we have seen ourselves. During the reign of Qa'an these stones were raised up, and a well was discovered, and in the well a great stone tablet with an inscription engraved upon it.[9]

[2] ARQWN, i.e. the Orkhon.

[3] Lit. 'Black Rock' from the Turkish *qara* 'black' and *qorum* 'rock'.

[4] Marquart, *Ǧuwaynī's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uighuren*, 486–7, sees in Buqu an historical figure, the Khan mentioned on the Qara-Balghasun inscription (see below, pp. 54–5, n. 9) under whom Manichaeism was introduced amongst the Uighur. On the other hand, Pelliot, *Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. Barthold*, 22, regards Buqu as Juvaini's spelling of Bügü, 'le nom du premier roi plus ou moins légendaire des Ouigours'.

[5] Afrāsiyāb is a figure in the National Epic, in which he appears as the ruler of Tūrān and the hereditary foe of the Iranians. He and his followers, who may originally have represented Iranian tribes hostile to the teachings of Zoroaster, had by the time the Epic received its final form in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi been identified with a more recent enemy, the Turks.

[6] Bīzhan, an Iranian hero, was imprisoned by Afrasiyab in a well.

[7] Or Qara-Balghasun, the old Uighur capital.

[8] I.e. 'Bad Town' from the Mongol *ma'u* 'bad' and the Turkish *baligh* or *baliq* 'town'.

[9] This is perhaps the famous trilingual inscription (in Chinese, Turkish and Soghdian) in praise of the Uighur ruler Ai tengride qut bulmïsh alp bilge. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 174; also, for translations of the Chinese

The order was given that everyone should present himself in order to decipher the writing; but no one was able to read it. Then people were brought from Khitai who are called . . . :[10] it was their writing that was engraved on the stone [and this is what was written:]

In that age two of the rivers of Qara-Qorum, one called the Tughla [11] and the other the Selenge, flowed together in a place called Qamlanchu;[12] and close together between these two rivers there stood two trees; the one they call *qusuq*,[13] which is a tree shaped like a pine *(nāzh)*, whose leaves in winter resemble those of a cypress and whose fruit is like a pignon *(chilghūza)* both in shape and taste; the other they call *toz*.[14] Between the two trees there arose a great mound, and a light [15] descended on it from the sky; and day by day the mound grew greater. On seeing this strange sight, the Uighur tribes were filled with astonishment; and respectfully and humbly they approached the mound: they heard sweet and pleasant sounds like singing. And every night a light shone to a distance of thirty paces around that mound,

text, Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 286–91, and Schlegel, *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uighurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun*. That inscription, however, while it refers at some length to the conversion of the Uighur to Manichaeism by missionaries brought from China, makes no reference whatsoever (as was already pointed out by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 497) to the miraculous birth of Buqu or to his various conquests. May it perhaps be that the Qara-Balghasun inscription is rather to be identified with 'the stones engraved with inscriptions' mentioned immediately before? For a description of the monument as discovered by the Russians (the actual stele was broken into six pieces) see Radloff, *op. cit.*, 283.

[10] There is a blank in all MSS. except C, which has QAMAĀN, and J and K (not utilized by M.Q. for this part of his edition), which have QAMAN, i.e. *qams* or shamans (see below, p. 59, n. 23); but this can hardly be right.

[11] TWΓLA. The Tula.

[12] QMLANǏW. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 59–60, regards Qamlanchu as an entirely mythical locality. He points out that there is in fact no confluence of the Tula and the Selenga, the former being a tributary of the Orkhon. Kashghari, III, 242, knows Qamlanchu only as 'the name of a small town near Iki-Ögüz'.

[13] I.e. the Siberian Cedar. See above, p. 21, n. 10).

[14] I.e. the Birch, reading TWZ with E for the TWR of the text.

[15] 'Der wunderbare Lichtstrom, welcher auf den Baum fällt, wodurch dieser befruchtet wird und fünf Anschwellungen bekommt, ist echt manichäisch.' (Marquart, *Ǧuwayni's Bericht*, 490.)

until just as with pregnant women at the time of their ‹
a door opened and inside there were five separate tent-li
[41] in each of which sat a man-child: opposite the m
each child hung a tube which furnished milk as re
while above the tent was extended a net of silver. Th
of the tribe came to view this marvel and in reverence
the knee of fealty. When the wind blew upon the child:
gathered strength and began to move about. At len
came forth from the cells and were confided to nurses, w
people performed all the ceremonies of service and hono
soon as they were weaned and were able to speak they i
concerning their parents, and the people pointed to th
trees. They approached the trees and made such obeis
dutiful children make to their parents; they also showed
and honour to the ground in which the trees grew. T
then broke into speech and said: 'Good children, adorn
the noblest virtues, have ever trodden this path, observi
duty to their parents. May your lives be long, and you
endure for ever!'[16] All the tribes of that region came
the children and showed them the honours due to the
kings; and as they left they gave each boy a name: th
they called Sonqur Tegin, the second Qotur Tegin, th
Tükel Tegin, the fourth Or Tegin and the fifth Buqu

After considering these strange matters the people agr
they must make one of the children their leader and thei
for they were, they said, sent by God Almighty. The
Buqu Khan to be superior to the other children in b
features and strength of mind and judgement; moreover i
all the tongues and writings of the different peoples. T

[16] Cf. Rashid-ad-Din's reference to Bügü Khan (see above, p. :
who 'was a great ruler in ancient times, held in high esteem by th
and many [other] tribes, who relate of him that he was born of a tree'.
gurov, 139.) The legend was known to Marco Polo: 'They [i.e. th
say that the king, who first ruled them, was not of human origin, but
of one of those swellings that the sap produces on the bark of trees,
we call *esca*.' (Benedetto, 73.) For the Chinese version as given in
shih (which is remarkably close to Juvaini) see Bretschneider, I, 247.

[17] In Old Turkish *tegin* or *tigin* means 'lord' or 'prince'. In th
Tukel I read TWKAL with D for the TWKAK of the text.

all were of one accord that he should be made Khan; and so they gathered together, held a feast and placed him on the throne of the Khanate. Thereafter he spread out the carpet of justice and rolled up the scroll of oppression; and his retainers and domestics and followers and servants were many. God Almighty sent him three ravens *(zāgh)* [18] that knew all tongues; [42] and wherever he had a matter on hand thither the ravens would go to act as spies and bring back news.

Some time later, when he lay asleep one night in his house, the form of a maiden came down through the smoke-hole and awakened him; but in his fear he feigned to be still asleep. On the second night she came again; and on the third night, following the advice of his vizier, he departed with the maiden to a mountain which they call Aq-Tagh,[19] where they conversed together until the break of dawn. And for a space of seven years, six months and twenty-two days he resorted thither every night, and they spoke with each other. Upon the last night, when the maiden bade him farewell, she said to him: 'From East to West shall be thy domain. Be diligent and zealous in this work, and care for the people.'

Hereupon he assembled armies and dispatched three hundred thousand picked men under Sonqur Tegin against the Mongols and the Qirqiz; a hundred thousand men, similarly equipped, under Qotur Tegin against the Tangut; and the like number of men under Tükel Tegin against the Tibetans; while he himself with three hundred thousand men marched against the Khitayans, leaving his other brother behind in his stead. Each returned in triumph from the place to which he had been sent, and with so much booty as was beyond measure or computation; and they brought many people from all sides to their home on the Orqon

[18] The Persian word is vague: it is applied to-day to the Magpie and the Jackdaw.

[19] Lit. 'the White Mountain' from the Turkish *aq* 'white' and *taq* or *tagh* 'mountain'. Perhaps identical with the Ektag (= Aq-Tagh) of Menander Protector, i.e. the T'ien Shan, in 'a certain hollow' in which mountain range Zemarchus, the ambassador of Justin II, was received in audience by Istemi, the ruler of the Western T'u-chüeh (552–75). See Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, 209, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 129.

and built the town of Ordu-Baligh; and the whole
came under their sway.

Then Buqu Khan beheld in a dream an aged man,
in white and holding a white staff; who handed hi
stone shaped like a pine-cone, saying: 'If thou canst
stone, then shall the four corners of the world be
shadow of the banner of thy command.' His vizier
dreamt a similar dream. In the morning they began
his army; and he set out for the regions of the We
he had come to the boundary of Turkestan he beheld
plain with abundance of grass and water. He him
here and founded the town of Balasaqun, which is n
Quz-Baligh;[21] and sent out his armies in all direction
space of twelve years they had conquered all the clim
nowhere a single rebel or insurgent. And when they
to a place where they saw men with animal limbs they
beyond this there was no inhabitable land; and the
home bearing with them the kings of the different
whom they presented to Buqu Khan in that place. H
each of them with the honour befitting his station;

[20] So in the text, which follows E and reads *shakhṣī pīr rā.* MSS. used by M.Q. except A have *shakhṣī hazār rā* or *shakhṣī hazār* persons'. A, which is corrupt, seems also to have *hazār rā,* whic the reading of J and K, the two Bodleian manuscripts, which were by M.Q. for this part of his edition. J also has *'aṣābā* 'staves' for tl of the text. The verbs relating to the apparently plural subject are ir except in two MSS. (C and D), which have the plural forms. passage ought then perhaps to be translated as follows: 'Then Bu a dream some 1000 persons, clothed in white and holding white etc.' This is how it was understood by Salemann and Marquar Salemann's text has *'iṣābaha* 'turbans' instead of *'aṣābā* so that the described as 'wearing white turbans' and not as 'holding white this passage Marquart, *op. cit.*, 486, comments: 'Jene 1000 Männer scheinlich Manichäer, wie schon ihre Kleidung . . . erweist . . .

[21] The precise position of Balasaqun (BLASAQWN) or Balas known: it lay somewhere in the valley of the Chu. See Barth *des Turcs*, 64–5. As for the name Quz-Baligh (I read QZ BA QR BALYĠ of the text) it should be noted that according to Ka saghun was also known as Quz-Ulush (I, 62, *ulush* being synon *baliq* 'town') or Quz-Ordu (I, 124). [According to Smirnova, ruins of Balasaghun are situated 24 kilometres to the south-west of

king of India, whom, because of his hideous appearance, he would not admit to his presence. He sent them all back to their kingdoms and fixed a tribute upon each. Then, as there was no longer any obstacle in his path, he decided to return from thence; and so came back to his former place of abode.

The reason for the idolatry [22] of the Uighur is that in those days they knew the science of magic, the experts in which art they called *qam*.[23] Now there are still to this day among the Mongols people that are overcome with *ubna*,[24] and speak vain things, and claim that they are possessed by devils who inform them of all things. We have questioned certain people regarding these *qam*, and they say: 'We have heard that devils descend into their tents by the smoke-hole and hold converse with them. And it is possible that evil spirits are intimate with some of them and have intercourse with them. Their powers are at their strongest just after they have satisfied their natural lust in an unnatural way *(az manfaẕ-i-birāz)*.' In a word, these people we have mentioned are called *qam*; and when the Mongols had no knowledge or science, they had from ancient times yielded obedience to the words of these *qam*; and even now their princes [44] still believe in their words and prayers, and if they engage upon some business they will conclude nothing until these astrologers have given their consent.[25] And in a similar manner they heal their sick.

Now the religion of Khitai was idolatry. Buqu dispatched a messenger to the Khan [of that country] and summoned the *toyins* [26] to him. When they arrived he confronted the two parties so that they might choose the religion of whichever party

[22] *but-parastī.* Here used in the sense of Buddhism: *but* 'idol' is derived from Buddha. See Marquart, *op. cit.*, 489.

[23] *qam* is a Turkish word. It is confused by Rubruck with *khan* or *qa'an*: 'All soothsayers are called *cham*, and so all their princes are called *cham*, because their government of the people depends on divination.' (Rockhill, 108.)

[24] In Arabic 'the craving of the pathic'.

[25] Cf. the statement of Rubruck: 'They [the diviners] predict lucky and unlucky days for the undertaking of all affairs; and so it is that they never assemble an army nor begin a war without their assent and long since (the Moal) would have gone back to Hungary, but the diviners will not allow it.' (Rockhill, 240.)

[26] See above, p. 14, n. 31.

defeated the other. The *toyins* call a reading from their [l
book *nom*.[27] Now the *nom* contains their theological spe
tions and consists of idle stories and traditions; but exc
homilies are likewise to be found in it such as are conso
with the law and faith of every prophet, urging men to a
injury and oppression and the like, to return good for evil
to refrain from the injuring of animals, etc. Their dogmas
doctrines are manifold; the most typical is that of reincarna
They say that the people of to-day existed several thousand
ago: the souls of those that wrought good deeds and en
in worship attained a degree in accordance with their act
such as that of king, or prince, or peasant, or beggar;
the souls of those that had engaged in debauchery *(fisq)*, liberti
(fujūr), murder, slander and injury to their fellow-crea
descended into vermin, beasts of prey and other animals;
so they are punished for their deeds. But then ignoran
[everywhere] in the ascendant: '*they say that which they do*

When they had read certain *noms*, the *qam* were comp
dumbfounded. For this reason the Uighur adopted idola
their religion, and most of the other tribes followed their exa
And there are none more bigoted than the idolaters of the
and none more hostile to Islam.

As for Buqu Khan he lived happily until the time wh
passed away. [45] And these lies which we have recorde
but few out of many and but a hundredth of what might
been related. Our purpose in recording them was to expo
ignorance and folly of this people.

A friend has told us that he read in a book how there
man, who made a hollow in the space between the two
and placed his own children in it, and lighted candles i
middle of it. Then he brought people to see this wonder
worshipped it, and commanded them to do likewise. A
he deceived them until he had dug up the ground and fe
out the children.

[27] The Buddhist *dharma*. See Marquart, *loc. cit.* *nom* is the Greek
which passed through Soghdian into the Uighur and Mongol languages:
it is the ordinary Mongol word for 'book'.

After Buqu's death he was succeeded by one of his sons.

The tribes and peoples of the Uighur, when they listened to the neighing of horses, the screaming of camels, the barking and howling of dogs and beasts of prey, the lowing of cattle, the bleating of sheep, the twittering of birds and the whimpering of children, in all this heard the cry of '*köch, köch!*' [28] and would move on from their halting-place. And wherever they halted the cry of '*köch, köch!*' would reach their ears. Finally they came to the plain where they afterwards built Besh-Baligh, and here that cry was silenced; and here they settled down and built five quarters and called them Besh-Baligh: [29] they gradually became one long and wide space. And from that time their posterity have been princes, and they call their prince *idi-qut*. And that family tree, which is an accursed tree,[30] is fastened upon the wall in their houses.

[VIII]

[46] OF KÜCHLÜG AND TOQ-TOGHAN [1]

WHEN Chingiz-Khan had defeated Ong-Khan, the latter's son [2] succeeded in escaping together with some others that had

[28] I.e. 'move, move!'

[29] Besh-Balīgh meaning literally 'Five Towns'. See above, p. 47, n. 16.

[30] Cf. '*the cursed tree of the Koran*' (Koran, xvii, 62), i.e. the tree az-Zaqqūm. '*It is a tree which cometh up from the bottom of hell; its fruit is as it were the heads of Satans; and lo! the* damned *shall surely eat of it, and fill their bellies with it.*' (*Ibid.*, xxxvii, 62–4.)

[1] TWQ TΓAN (E has TWQ ṬΓAN, II, 101). The name itself is unquestionably to be identified with that of the Merkit chieftain, the Toqto'a Beki of the *Secret History* and the Toqta of Rashid-ad-Din. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 67–71, discusses its etymology and concludes that like Toqtamïsh, the name of the antagonist of Tamerlane, it is derived from the Mongol-Turkish verb *toqta-*, *toqto-*, 'to stop', 'to be fixed'. However the form of the name as it occurs in Juvaini seems to have been modified by Turkish speakers to give it an entirely different meaning: 'the falcon that has eaten its fill', from *toq* 'satiated' and *toghan* 'falcon'. Pelliot himself, *loc. cit.*, 68, refers to the analogous names of Toq-Buqa and Toq-Temür as being of frequent occurrence in the *Yüan shih*. As to the identity of the person called by this name Juvaini has confused Toqto'a Beki with one of his sons (Qodu or Qul-Toghan); and in the present chapter Toq-Toghan stands sometimes for the father and sometimes for the son.

[2] Juvaini's mistake is pointed out by M.Q. Küchlüg was the son, not of

a large following. He struck the road for Besh-Baligh, ar thence he came to Kucha, where he wandered in the mo without food or sustenance, while those of his tribe th accompanied him were scattered far and wide.[3] Now sc that a detachment of the *gür-khan's*[4] soldiers took him p and bore him to their master; but according to one re went of his own free will.[5] In any case, he remained fc time in the *gür-khan's* service.

Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit, but of Tai-Buqa or Tayang-K ruler of the Naiman. After his father's death in battle (in 1204) he to his uncle Buiruq and upon the latter's death had made common ca Toqto'a of the Merkit. In 1208 (or 1205 according to the *Secret His* suffered a crushing defeat on the upper reaches of the Irtish. Toqto'a v and Küchlüg fled to the *gür-khan*. See the *Secret History*, § 198, Krau Smirnova, 151–2, 180 and 254.

[3] These details are not in Rashid-ad-Din, who simply states (Smirn that Küchlüg proceeded from Besh-Baligh to Kucha.

[4] *gür-khan* was the title of the ruler of the Qara-Khitai. The spellin is perhaps preferable for Juvaini. Cf. the Coirchan of Rubruck (Y 205). *gür-khan* occurs in the *Secret History* also as the title assumed by th Anti-Caesar Jamuqa (§ 141) and Gür-Khan was the name of the Ong-Khan who deposed him for murdering his brothers (§§ 66–7). T ing of the title according to Juvaini (II, 86; i, 354) is 'khan of kh the *Secret History gür* is always translated by the Chinese *p'u* 'univers Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 248. On the other hand, Barthold, *F Turks*, 97, n. 1., sees in the first element of the title the Old Turkish *k kur*, according to Kashghari, means 'brave', 'heroic'. *kül*, which by Gabain only as a proper name (Kül Tigin, Kül Chor), means ' according to Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, 210. *khan* or *kür-khan* was then the Universal, the Heroic or the Glorious

[5] An interesting reference to sources. Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, ı the following account of Küchlüg's first meeting with the *gür-khan*: ' that when Küshlüg reached the *ordu* of the *gür-khan* he called one of his by his own name and pretending himself to be a groom sat at the e the time when they went to the *gür-khan*. Gürbesü [the *gür-khan's* w out, caught sight of Küshlüg and said: "Why have you not brough side?" They brought him in, and the *gür-khan's* emirs were offended. was the *gür-khan's* eldest wife: she had a daughter called Qunqu, in love with Küshlüg. Three days later she was given in marriag She was so masterful that she would not allow the *boghtaq* to be put on declared that instead of a *boghtaq* she would wear a *nikse* like the women In Qunqu Professor Cleaves (I quote a letter dated the 31st Octob sees the Chinese title *huang-hou* 'empress'. He suggests that *nikse* (the B.M. MS. Or. 7628, 500a, has MYLSH, i.e. *milse*—the passage

When the Sultan [6] began his revolt against the *gür-khan* and the other princes to the east commenced to rebel, and to seek the protection of Chingiz-Khan, and to find in his favour security from the *gür-khan's* evil; then said Küchlüg to the *gür-khan*: 'My people are many; they are scattered throughout the region of the Emil, in Qayaligh and in Besh-Baligh; and everyone is molesting them. [47] If I receive permission, I will collect them together and with the help of this people will assist and support the *gür-khan*. I shall not deviate from the path he prescribes and as far as in me lies I shall not twist my neck from the fulfilment of whatever he commands.' By such deceitful blandishments he cast the *gür-khan* into the well of vainglory. And when the latter had presented him with numerous gifts and bestowed upon him the title of *Küchlüg-Khan*, he leapt forth like an arrow from a strong bow. And when the report of his rise was noised abroad, all those in the army of Qara-Khitai that had some connection with him, set out to join him; and so he penetrated to the region of the Emil and Qayaligh. Toq-Toghan, who was also [7] a chief of the Mekrit and had fled before the fame of Chingiz-Khan's onslaught had likewise allied himself with Küchlüg. And from all sides his tribesmen assembled around him. And he assaulted divers places and plundered them, striking one after another; and so he obtained a numerous army and his retinue and army was multiplied and reinforced. Then, turning upon the *gür-khan*, he ravaged and plundered his territory, now attacking and now retreating. And hearing of the Sultan's conquests he sent a succession of ambassadors to him urging him to attack the

from Berezin's text) may be a Chin or Jürchen word. On the headgear known as a *boghtaq* or *boghtagh* see below, p. 262, n. 2.

[6] I.e. Sultan Muhammad Khorazm-Shah.

[7] Implying that Küchlüg, already falsely described as a Kereit, was also a Merkit! The Merkit (Mekrit is a less usual spelling of the name) were a forest tribe and inhabited the region of the Lower Selenga, along the southern shores of Lake Baikal. On the identity of Toq-Toghan see above, p. 61, n. 1. It seems likely that in this instance Toqto'a Beki himself is meant and that the reference is really to his and Küchlüg's earlier collaboration upon the Irtish. See above, p. 61, n. 2. There is no evidence in the other sources of any alliance between Küchlüg and the Merkit after the former had established himself in Semirechye.

gür-khan from the west while he himself attacked him from the east; so that between them they might make an end of him. If the Sultan was the first to conquer and destroy, all the *gür-khan's* kingdom to Almaligh and Kashghar should be surrendered to him; while if Küchlüg took the lead and bore off Qara-Khitai, then all the territory to the river of Fanakat [8] should be his. Being thus agreed and having formed a compact on these terms, they sent their armies [48] against Qara-Khitai from either side. Küchlüg won the lead; the troops of the *gür-khan*, who were some distance away, were routed and he plundered the *gür-khan's* treasures in Özkend [9] and passed from thence to Balasaqun. Here the *gür-khan* was encamped; they joined battle near *Chinuch [10] and Küchlüg was defeated and the greater part of his army taken prisoner. He returned to his own country and set about reorganizing his forces. Then, hearing that the *gür-khan* had returned from his war with the Sultan and had committed excesses against the population, whilst his army had dispersed to their homes; Küchlüg fell upon him like lightning from a cloud, and taking him by surprise made him prisoner and seized his kingdom and his army. He took one of their maidens to wife. Now the Naiman are for the most part Christian; but this maiden persuaded him to turn idolater like herself and to abjure his Christianity.[11]

[8] Fanākat (or Banākat) lay on the right bank of the Syr Darya near the mouth of the Angren (Āhangarān), but by 'the river of Fanakat' the Syr Darya itself is probably meant.

[9] Presumably the Özkend on the Syr Darya between Suqnaq and Jand (see below, p. 87) is meant here, but in any case not the Özkend in Farghana (now Uzkend in Kirghizia).

[10] The text has ḤYYNWḤ. The spelling is quite uncertain but the second element of the name is probably the Turkish *uch* 'edge', 'border'. The phrase translated by 'near' (*dar kanār-i*) usually means 'on the banks of', so that *Chinuch could be a river, but it can also mean 'on the border of', in which case *Chinuch might be a region or a mountain-range.

[11] According to the passage from Rashid-ad-Din quoted above, p. 62, n. 5, it was Qunqu, the daughter of the *gür-khan* and Qürbesü, who converted Küchlüg to Buddhism. Elsewhere Rashid-ad-Din attributes his conversion to a wife described as 'a girl of the . . . people, most of whom are . . .', the first blank occurring both in Berezin's text (XV, 60) and in Smirnova (182), while the relative clause is not in Smirnova.

With thy idol-like face thou hast made me thy worshipper,
and hast charmed me who didst formerly raise up troubles for me.
'Tis no wonder that the fire of heaven consumeth my liver
seeing that he deserveth the fire who worshippeth an idol.

When he was firmly established in the kingdom of Qara-Khitai he went several times to war against Ozar Khan [12] of Almaligh. Finally he took him by surprise in his hunting grounds and put him to death.

The rulers of Kashghar and Khotan had previously risen in rebellion and the son of the Khan of Kashghar had been held prisoner by the *gür-khan*. Küchlüg released him from custody and sent him back to Kashghar; but the nobles of that place plotted against him and slew him at the gates before he could set foot in the town. Thereupon Küchlüg, at every harvest time, would send his troops to devour their crops and consume them with fire. When for three or four years [49] they had been prevented from gathering in their corn, and a great dearth had made its appearance, and the populace were distressed with famine; they then submitted to his command. He betook himself thither with his army; and in every house in which there was a householder he quartered one of his soldiers, so that they were all assembled in one place and under one roof with the inhabitants. And oppression, and injustice, and cruelty, and depravity were made manifest; and the pagan idolaters accomplished whatever was their will and in their power, and none was able to prevent them.

From here Küchlüg proceeded to Khotan, and seized that country; whereupon he compelled the inhabitants to abjure the religion of Mohammed, giving them the choice between two alternatives, either to adopt the Christian or idolatrous creed or to don the garb of the Khitayans. And since it was impossible to go over to another religion, by reason of hard necessity they clad themselves in the dress of the Khitayans. *God Almighty hath said: ' But who shall be a forced partaker, if it be without wilfulness,*

[12] On Ozar (AWZAR) see below, p. 75. According to Jamal al-Qarshi his name was Buzar. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 401, Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 185.

and not in transgression—verily, thy Lord is indulgent, merciful.' [13] The muezzins' call to prayer and the worship of monotheist and believer were broken off; and the schools were closed and destroyed. One day, in Khotan, he drove the great *imams* out on to the plain and began to discuss religion with them. One of their number, the *imam* 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan, ventured to dispute with him: After undergoing torture he was crucified upon the door of his college, as will be hereinafter described.[14] Thus was the Moslem cause brought to a sorry pass, nay rather it was entirely wiped out, and endless oppression and wickedness were extended over all the slaves of the Divinity; who sent up prayers that were blessed with fulfilment, saying:

O Lord, when Pharaoh became proud and haughty, being rendered insolent by what he possessed,
Thou wert kind, Who art the Kind, the Knowing, and didst plunge him in the sea until he perished.
How then is it with this man who is not shown to me treading another path than that which he hath ever trodden,
Secure from the vicissitudes of Fortune, though Heaven may work its will upon all?
Art Thou not able to seize him? Seize him then, and the kingdom shall have been freed.[15]

It was as though the arrow of prayer hit the target of answer and acceptance; for when Chingiz-Khan set out to attack the countries of the Sultan [50] he despatched a group of *noyans* [16] to remove the corruption of Küchlüg and lance the abscess of his sedition. Küchlüg was at that time in Kashghar. The people of Kashghar relate as follows: 'When they arrived they had not yet joined battle, when he turned his back and set his face towards flight, and fled away. And each group of Mongols, arriving one after another, sought nothing of us save Küchlüg,

[13] Koran, vi, 146.
[14] In Chapter IX.
[15] From a poem by Ahmad b. Abū-Bakr Kātib in which he satirizes Abū-'Abdallah al-Jaihāni the Samanid. (M.Q.)
[16] According to the *Secret History* (§§ 202 and 237) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 183, Khetagurov, 194) it was the famous general Jebe (Yeme in Juvaini) who was sent in pursuit of Küchlüg.

and permitted the recitation of the *takbir* and the *azan*, and caused a herald to proclaim in the town that each should abide by his own religion and follow his own creed. Then we knew the existence of this people to be one of the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divine grace.'

And when Küchlüg fled, all his soldiers that sojourned in Moslem houses in that town, were annihilated in one moment, like quicksilver upon the ground. And the Mongol army set out in pursuit of Küchlüg; and wherever he halted, they would come up to him; and so they chased him like a mad dog until he came to the borders of Badakhshan and entered the valley which is called *Darra-yi-*Dirazi*.[17] When he drew near to *Sarigh-Chopan,[18] he mistook the road (as it was right that

[17] Reading DRAZY for the WRARNY of the text (for which D has WRAZY), i.e. the Valley of *Dirāzī. See the following note.

[18] Reading SRΓ ČWPAN for the SRX JWYAN of the text (for which E has SRX ČWPAN) in accordance with the version of this passage in Mirza Haidar (Elias-Ross, 292), which has Sarigh Chupán (SRYΓ ČWPAN) and for the WRARNY of the text (see the preceding note) Darázukhán. Mirza Haidar refers elsewhere (*op. cit.*, 353–4) to Sárigh Chupán (SARYΓ ČWPAN) and adds that 'the people of Badakhshán call the frontier [between Badakhshán and Wakhán] *Darázukhán*. The Kashghári call it *Sárigh Chupán*.' On Darázukhán Elias comments (*op. cit.*, 354, n. 1): 'I expect that the term intended is *Darazi-i-Wakhán* or *Daráz-Wakhan*, and that it points to the long narrow valley of the upper Panjah, sometimes known in modern days as *Sarigh Chupán* or *Sarhad*.' Juvaini's Darra-yi-*Dirāzī and *Sarīgh-Chopan do not however seem to be identical and the latter may have been some point along the former, conceivably the district of Sarhadd. The valley of the Upper Panja (i.e. the Sarhadd river or Āb-i-Vakhān) is one of the two alternative routes for Marco Polo's journey to Kashghar from the West. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 175, also Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda*, 38 and 39. The other, more northerly route lay along the valley of the Pamir River which rises in Lake Victoria, long regarded after its discovery by Wood as the source of the Oxus; and it is also possible that Küchlüg in his flight from Kashghar, may have followed this route. According to the *Secret History* (§ 237) he was captured in Sariq-Qol (the text has Sariq-Qun, 'Yellow Cliff', but see Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold*, 55). The same name occurs in Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 179 and 183) and has usually been identified with the Sarikol range in Western Kashgharia. It should be noted however that Rashid-ad-Din agrees with Juvaini that Küchlüg was captured and killed on 'the frontier of Badakhshan' (Khetagurov, 194, Smirnova, 179 and 183) and that the 'valley (*darra*) which is called Sarïq-Qol' is therefore presumably located further west than the Sarikol. In view of these considerations Smirnova has suggested

he should do) and entered a valley which had no egress. Some Badakhshani huntsmen were hunting in the neighbouring mountains. They caught sight of Küchlüg and his men and turned towards them; while the Mongols came up from the other side. As the valley was of a rugged nature and the going was difficult, the Mongols came to an agreement with the hunters. 'These men,' they said, 'are Küchlüg and his followers, who have escaped from our grasp. If you capture Küchlüg and deliver him up to us, we shall ask nothing more of you.' These men accordingly surrounded Küchlüg and his followers, took him prisoner and handed him over to the Mongols; who cut off his head and bore it away with them. The people of Badakhshan received endless booty in jewels and money, and so returned home.

And be it remarked that whoever molests the faith and law of Mohammed never triumphs, while whoever fosters it, even though it be not his own religion, advances day by day in prosperity and consideration. [51]

> If God lights a candle, whoever blows at it only
> burns his beard.

And God Almighty hath said: 'How many generations have we destroyed before them? We had settled them on the earth as we have not settled you, and we sent down the very heavens upon them in copious rains, and we made the rivers to flow beneath their feet: yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations to succeed them.' [19]

Thus the region of Kashghar and Khotan up to an area which was under the command of the Sultan became subject to the world-conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan.

(179–80, n. 7) that the reference may perhaps be to the region around the Sarïgh-Kol (or Sar-i Kōl), the 'Yellow Lake', i.e. Lake Victoria, called also by the Russians Zor Kul; and this suggestion finds support in the fact that Wood's Kirghiz informants called the valley of the Pamir 'the durah [i.e. *darra*] of Sir-i-kol'. See Wood, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, 332. It would appear therefore that Küchlüg's flight westward like Polo's journey eastward lay along the one or the other of these two possible routes.

[19] Koran, vi, 6.

As for Toq-Toghan [20] he had seceded from Küchlüg during the latter's ascendancy and had gone to the region of Qam-Kemchik.[21] In the trail of his flight Chingiz-Khan dispatched his eldest son Tushi with a large army in order to destroy him: he cleansed away his evil and left no trace of him.

As they returned they were followed by the Sultan; and though they refrained from giving battle, the Sultan could not withhold himself but set his face towards the wilderness of error and hallucination. As he was not rebuffed by admonishments they prepared for action. Both sides attacked, and the right wing of both armies routed its opponents. The rest of the Mongol army was emboldened by this success; they attacked the centre where the Sultan was stationed in person; [52] and he was nearly taken prisoner, when Jalal-ad-Din repelled the attackers and bore him out of that strait.

> What is finer than a furious male lion, his loins
>   girded before his father? [22]

And the battle continued all that day, and the fighting lasted till the evening prayer, when by the disappearance of the greater luminary the face of the world became as black as the face of evildoers and the back of the earth as dark as the belly of a well.

> Last night, at the time when the shadow of the earth
>   lay in ambush for the steed of light,
> I beheld the whole of the inhabitable globe in blackness
>   like a miserable hovel
> Thou mightest truly have said that it was a black pavilion
>   raising its head unto the highest heaven.

Thereupon they sheathed the sword of combat, and each army rested in its own quarters. The Mongol army then withdrew.[23]

[20] Here Qodu or Qul-Toghan is meant and not Toqto'a Beki (see above, p. 61, n. 1) but the reference is probably to the flight of the Merkit after the battle on the Irtish.

[21] Reading QM KMČK for the QM KBČK of the text. Qam-Kemchik or rather Kem-Kemchik was the territory between the Kem, i.e. the Upper Yenisei, and its tributary the Kemchik.

[22] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1632, I. 2408.

[23] For a fuller account of the battle see below.

And when they came to Chingiz-Khan, and he h[a] their bravery and learnt of the extent and size of th army, and knew also that there remained no intermed that had not been removed nor any enemy that c resistance, he mobilized his armies and advanced a Sultan.

As for the Sultan, during the time that he cleansed of dreadful foes, he might have been called Ching vanguard *(yezek)* that swept away everything in fro For though he did not achieve the complete destruct *gür-khan,* yet he loosened the foundations of his powe the first to attack him; as it was he also that destr khans and princes. But everything has its limit, beginning its end, whose delay or postponement is inco *'The pen hath dried up with respect to what already is.'*

[IX]

OF THE MARTYRED *IMAM*, 'ALA-AD-DIN MUHAMMAD OF KHOTAN (GOD'S MERCY BE UPON HIM!)

AFTER Küchlüg had conquered Kashghar and Khota abandoned the law of Christianity [53] for the habit c he charged the inhabitants of these parts to forsake Hanafite faith for unclean heathendom, and to turn rays of the light of Guidance to the wilderness of infi darkness, and from allegiance to a merciful King to su to an accursed Devil. And as this door would not he kicked it with his foot; and by force they were to don the garb and headdress of Error: the sound c and the *iqamat* was abolished and prayers and *takbirs* we

After truth hath been made manifest, do they hope to
undo it, truth that is bound with a knot of which there is no

Meanwhile, in his strength, and ruthlessness, and tyranny he wished to convince by proof and evi Mohammedan *imams* and the Christian monks,

And when thou hopest for the impossible, thou dost
but build upon a crumbling slope.[1]

A proclamation was made in the town, and his command was communicated that all that wore the garb of science and piety should present themselves upon the plain. More than three thousand illustrious *imams* assembled there, and turning towards them he said: 'In all this crowd what man is there who will dispute with me concerning affairs of religion and state, and will not give in to me, and fears neither wrath nor punishment?' For in his corrupt mind he was convinced that none of those present would dare to refute his words and disprove his argument; and even though anyone should make a beginning, yet for fear of his violence he would restrain himself and not attract to himself the fire of calamity nor be '*like* [the sheep] *that dug up its death with its own hoof*'; but would certify his lies and confirm his falsehoods.

But from that multitude there arose the Heaven-aided *shaikh*, the *imam* in very deed, 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan (*may God illuminate his tomb and increase his reward!*); who approached Küchlüg, seated himself, girded the belt of truth about the loins of veracity and began to dispute about religion. As his voice rose and the martyred *imam* adduced decisive proofs, knowing that Küchlüg's presence and existence was but nonentity; truth prevailed over falsehood and the wise over the ignorant, and the beatified *imam* confuted the accursed Küchlüg. '*For the truth speaketh clearly, but the false doth stutter.*' Consternation, [54] bewilderment and shame overpowered the deeds and words of that wicked man; the fire of wrath arose from the absence of courage; so that his tongue was severed and his speech enchained. Foul ravings, unfit to be uttered regarding the Holy Prophet, poured from his lips, and in this strain he delivered a whole discourse. The truth-speaking *imam*, convinced that '*if the covering were uncovered, I should not be more certain*' and urged on by religious fervour was unable to tolerate or ignore his puerilities and absurdities; but exclaimed, 'Dust

[1] From a poem by the well-known poet Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad at-Tihāmi, an elegy on his son.

be in thy mouth, thou enemy of the faith, thou accursed Küchlüg!'

When these hard words reached the ears of that prideful Guebre, that lewd unbeliever, that unclean wretch, he gave command that 'Ala-ad-Din should be seized and forced to abjure Islam and embrace unbelief and infidelity. '*Away, away with his predictions!*'[2]

> The alighting-place of the divine light will not become
> the home of a devil.

For several days he was kept naked and fettered, hungry and thirsty, and worldly food and sustenance was withheld from him, although he was a guest at the table of '*I shall pass the night with my Lord, who will feed me and give me to drink.*' And this *imam* of Mohammed was like Salih[3] among the people of Thamud, as overcome with grief as was Jacob and tried with the tortures of Jirjis.[4] The prophet *(peace be upon him!)* hath said: '*Affliction is enjoined upon the prophets, and then the saints, and then the most excellent, and then the next most excellent.*' He was as patient as Job, and struggled like Joseph in the well of their prison. For the true lover, when in the sweetness of love he tastes the sting of suffering, accounts it a fresh gain and a boundless felicity, and says: 'All that comes from thee is sweet, be it cure or be it hurt.' And if poison from the hand of his beloved reaches the palate of the lover's soul, in conformity with the verse,

> One may eat poison from the hand of a silver-breasted
> mistress.

from the sweetness of his taste he discovers the sweetness of honey and sugar in the bitterness of colocynth and aloes and says:

> *If I were given poison to drink by the hand of my beloved,*
> *from her hand poison would be an agreeable drink.*

And when a luminous heart receives its light from the niche of the divine lamp, every moment [55] it has greater confidence in

[2] Koran, xxiii, 38.
[3] See above, p. 17, n. 40.
[4] Jirjis is St. George of England, who besides being a Christian saint has also become a Mohammedan prophet.

ven though it be racked and tormented with the pains ıre.

ost thou seek union with thy beloved? Then court affliction;
ʹor thorn and rose may both be together.
ırsake thyself that thou mayst come to the street of thy
ɔeloved; for such affairs may be fraught with danger.

ly, after they had tried every wile that lies in the nature misguided people—promises, threats, inveiglements, ation and chastisement—and his outer form had not ı from that which his inner essence was bound up with ımposed of, namely, inquiry, faith, confirmation and ı; they crucified him upon the door of his school which built in Khotan, and he delivered up his soul to God, ʒ the creed of His oneness and instructing his fellow- ˆ that faith cannot be destroyed by the punishments of -heap of this transient world, nor can it ever be imprisoned ire of hell! that it is a complete fraud and a notorious exchange the permanent for the evanescent, and for the 'll verdure of this present world, which is but the sport ıything of children, to barter away the comforts and .s of the world to come. *God Almighty hath said: this world is but a play and a pastime; and better surely for godly fear will be the future mansions! Will ye not then* ʹ*nd?*' [5]

so he passed from the prison of the world to the paradise ereafter, and flew from the lowest alighting-place to the abode.

Friend hath gone to friend, lover to lover—what in
all the world is more beautiful than this?

If a man place his arm around the neck of his purpose,
this may be a shield against the blows of calamities.

when this event had fallen out, God Almighty, in order ıve the evilness of Küchlüg, in a short space dispatched ngol army against him; and already in this world he

ı, vi, 32.

tasted the punishment of his foul and wicked deeds and his ill-omened life; and in the hereafter the torment of hellfire. *Ill be his rest!*

And Heresy hath learnt, since the True Guidance hath conquered, that the Hanafite faith cannot be destroyed.

God Almighty hath said: 'But they that treat them unjustly shall find out what a lot awaiteth them.' [6]

[X]

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE REGIONS OF ALMALIGH, QAYALIGH AND FULAD;[1] TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULERS THEREOF

DURING the reign of the *gür-khan* the ruler of this area was one Arslan-Khan [2] of Qayaligh, who was assisted in the government thereof by the *shahna* of the *gür-khan*. When the *gür-khan's* fortunes began to decline and neighbouring princes were breathing the fire of rebellion, the Sultan of Khotan also revolted against him. The *gür-khan* led his army against him and at the same time sought aid from Arslan-Khan. This he did with the motive of putting him to death; so that if he too should rebel like the other chieftains, he might rid himself of him once and for all; while if he yielded obedience but treated the Moslems gently and showed no energy in the campaign against Khotan, on this pretext also he might withdraw his neck from the noose of life. Arslan-Khan obeyed his command and hastened to present himself before him. But one of the *gür-khan's*

[6] Koran, xxvi, 228.

[1] Fūlād or Pūlād (it is the Persian word for 'steel') was situated, according to Bretschneider, II, 42, 'not very far from lake Sairam, perhaps in the fertile valley of the river *Boro tal*, which discharges itself into the Ebinor'. It is the Bolat of Rubruck, where the 'Teuton slaves of Buri' were 'digging for gold and manufacturing arms'. (Rockhill, 137.)

[2] Like Ozar of Almaligh the ruler of Qayaligh was a Qarluq Turk. On the Qarluq, who had formerly occupied territory farther to the West, in the Chu basin, see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 286–97.

commanders, Shamur Tayangu [3] by name, who had long been on terms of friendship and intimacy with him, informed him of the *gür-khan's* intention, and added: 'If he makes some attempt against thee, thy house and thy children will also be extirpated. The best course for the welfare of thy children will be for thee to drink poison and so to escape from the affliction of an ill-omened life and an iniquitous ruler. I will then be thy instrument and will establish thy son in thy place.' Having no other refuge or asylum, with his own hand he sipped a fatal potion and gave up the ghost. Shamur, as he had promised, obtained his son's appointment in his place, and the *gür-khan* dismissed him with honour, sending a *shahna* to accompany him. Such was the state of affairs for some time, until the fame of Chingiz-Khan [57] and his rise to power was diffused abroad. Thereupon, the *gür-khan's* agent having become tyrannous and cruel in his treatment of the people, he was slain by Arslan-Khan's son, who then made his way to the Court of Chingiz-Khan, where he was received with marks of special condescension and favour.

And in Almaligh there was one of the Qarluq of Quyas, a man of great valour, whose name was Ozar [4] and who used to steal the peoples' horses from the herds and to commit other criminal actions, such as highway robbery etc. He was joined by all the ruffians of that region and so became very powerful. He then used to enter the villages, and if in any place the people refused to yield him obedience he would seize that place by war and violence. And so he continued until he took Almaligh, which is the chief town of that region, and subjugated the whole country; as he also captured Fulad. On several occasions Küchlüg marched against him, and was defeated every time; whereupon he sent a messenger to Chingiz-Khan to report on Küchlüg and to announce his own enrolment amongst the servants and liegemen of the world-conquering Emperor. He was encouraged with expressions of favour and attention; and at Chingiz-Khan's command he became allied in marriage to

[3] ŠMWR TYANKW. *tayangu* in Old Turkish meant 'chamberlain'.

[4] See above, p. 65, n. 12.

Tushi. When the foundations of his servitude h strengthened, in obedience to the orders of Chingiz- proceeded to Court in person, and was kindly receiv As he departed, having been distinguished with all m honours, Chingiz-Khan bade him refrain from the chas should unexpectedly become the prey of other huntsme as a substitute for game he presented him with a thousa of sheep. Nevertheless, when he returned to Almaligh, devoted himself to hunting, being unable to withhold from that sport; until one day, being taken unawares, trapped in his hunting-grounds by the troops of Küchli bound him in chains and bore him off with them to i of Almaligh. The people of Almaligh closed their g joined battle with them. But in the meanwhile tl suddenly received news of the arrival of the Mongol arm they turned back from the gates of Almaligh and sl prisoner upon the road.

Ozar, although rash and foolhardy, was a pious, Goc man and gazed with the glance of reverence upon ascetic day a person in the garb of the Sufis approached him sa am come upon an embassy to thee from the Court o [58] and Glory; and my message is thus, that our trea become somewhat depleted. Now therefore let Ozar by means of a loan and not hold it lawful to refuse.' arose and made obeisance to the Sufi, while tears raine from his eyes. Then he ordered one of his servants to *balish* of gold, which he presented to the Sufi, saying: thy excuses to the Master after thou hast communicated my duty.' Whereupon the Sufi took the gold and dep

After Ozar's death his son Siqnaq Tegin obtained t good will: his father's office was bestowed upon him, was given one of Tushi's daughters to wife.

As for Arslan-Khan,[5] he was sent back to Qayaligh

[5] As M.Q. points out, this must be, not the Arslan-Khan who had himself, but his son. He concludes that Arslan-Khan must have b an hereditary title than a name. The *Secret History*, § 235, gives a different version of Chingiz-Khan's relations with the rulers of Qay

too received a royal maiden in marriage. And when Chingiz-Khan marched against the Sultan's empire, he joined him with his men and rendered him great assistance. One of Arslan-Khan's children is still alive. Mengü Qa'an gave him the fief of Özkend [6] and because of the claims of his father to their gratitude he held him in high honour.

Siqnaq Tegin, too, was honoured by Chingiz-Khan and was confirmed in the governorship of Almaligh. On the homeward journey he passed away. He was succeeded by his son in the year 651/1253–4.

[XI]

OF THE REASON FOR THE ATTACK ON THE COUNTRIES OF THE SULTAN

In the latter part of his reign he had brought about complete peace and quiet, and security and tranquillity, and had achieved the extreme of prosperity and well-being; the roads were secure and disturbances allayed: so that wherever profit or gain was displayed, in the uttermost West or the farthermost East, thither merchants would bend their steps. And since the Mongols were not settled in any town [59] and there was no concourse of merchants and travellers to them, articles of dress were a great rarity amongst them and the advantages of trading with them well known. For this reason three persons, Ahmad of Khojend,[1] the son of the Emir Husain and Ahmad Balchikh,[2] decided to journey together to the countries of the East, and having assembled an immeasurable quantity of merchandise—gold-embroidered fabrics, cottons, *zandanichi* [3] and whatever else they

was not until his general Qubilai had marched against the Qarluq that Arslan-Khan came to do homage. He was then however favourably received and promised one of the Khan's daughters in marriage.

[6] Apparently Özkend on the Syr Darya. See above, p. 64, n. 9.

[1] Now Leninabad in Tajikistan.

[2] The spelling is uncertain. The text has BALḤYḤ.

[3] The name of a cloth manufactured in the village of Zandana (or Zandān, according to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 113), some fourteen miles north of Bokhara.

thought suitable—they set their faces to the road. By that time most of the Mongol tribes had been defeated by Chingiz-Khan, their habitations demolished and the whole region purged of rebels. He had then posted guards (whom they call *qaraqchis*) upon the highways and issued a *yasa* that whatever merchants arrived in his territory should be granted safe conduct, while whatever merchandise was worthy of the Khan's acceptance should be sent to him together with the owner. When this group of merchants arrived on the frontier, the *qaraqchis* were pleased with Balchikh's fabrics and other wares and accordingly dispatched him to the Khan. Having opened out and displayed his merchandise, Balchikh demanded three *balish* of gold for pieces of fabric each of which he had bought for ten or twenty dinars at most. Chingiz-Khan was enraged at his boastful talk and exclaimed: 'Does this fellow think that fabrics have never been brought to us before ?' And he gave orders that Balchikh should be shown the fabrics from the stores of former khans that were deposited in his treasury; and that his wares should be listed *(dar qalam āvarda)* and then distributed as plunder, and his person detained. Then he sent for his companions and had their merchandise brought to him in its entirety. Although [60] the Mongols importunately inquired as to the value of their wares the merchants refused to fix a price but said: 'We have brought these fabrics for the Khan.' These words were accepted and approved, and Chingiz-Khan commanded that for each piece of gold-embroidered fabric they should be paid a *balish* of gold and for every two pieces of cotton or *zandanichi* a *balish* of silver. Their companion Ahmad was also called back and his wares purchased at the same prices; and honour and favour were shown to all three.

For in those days the Mongols regarded the Moslems with the eye of respect, and for their dignity and comfort would erect them clean tents of white felt; but to-day on account of their calumny one of another and other defects in their morals they have rendered themselves thus abject and ragged.

At the time of these merchants' return Chingiz-Khan ordered his sons, *noyans* and commanders to equip, each of them, two

or three persons from their dependents and give them capital of a *balish* of gold or silver, that they might proceed with this party to the Sultan's territory, engage in commerce there and so acquire strange and precious wares. They obeyed his command, each dispatching two or three people from his retinue, so that in this way four hundred and fifty Moslems were assembled. Then Chingiz-Khan sent the following message to the Sultan: 'Merchants from your country have come among us, and we have sent them back in the manner that you shall hear. And we have likewise dispatched to your country in their company a group of merchants in order that they may acquire the wondrous wares of those regions; and that henceforth the abscess of evil thoughts may be lanced by the improvement of relations and agreement between us, and the pus of sedition and rebellion removed.'

When the party arrived at Otrar, the governor of that town was one Inalchuq,[4] who was a kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatun,[5] and had received the title of Ghayir-Khan.[6] Now amongst the merchants was an Indian who had been acquainted with the governor in former times. He now addressed the latter simply as Inalchuq; and [61] being rendered proud by reason of the power and might of his own Khan he did not stand aloof from him nor have regard to his own interests. On this account Ghayir-Khan became annoyed and embarrassed; at the same time he conceived a desire for their property. He therefore placed them under arrest, and sent a messenger to the Sultan in Iraq to inform him about them. Without pausing to think the Sultan sanctioned the shedding of their blood and deemed the seizure of their goods to be lawful, not knowing

[4] The text has AYNAL ǰQ, B AYNAL ǰWQ and E AYNAL ČWQ. It is the diminutive form of the Turkish word *ïnal*. 'On remarquera que *ïnalčïq* signifie 'prince' en Jaghatai (à peu près comme *ïnal*) et pourrait donc être en soi un titre aussi bien qu'un nom.' (Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold*, 52–3.)

[5] I.e. Princess Terken (or Tergen, spelt TRKAN). On this Turkish name or title see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 89–91.

[6] I.e. 'the Mighty Khan', *ghayïr* or rather *qayïr* being the Türkmen (Turcoman) equivalent of the Eastern *qadïr*.

that his own life would become unlawful, nay a crime, and that the bird of his prosperity would be lopped of feather and wing.

> He whose soul hath understanding looketh to the capital of deeds.

Ghayir-Khan in executing his command deprived these men of their lives and possessions, nay rather he desolated and laid waste a whole world and rendered a whole creation without home, property or leaders. For every drop of their blood there flowed a whole Oxus; in retribution for every hair on their heads it seemed that a hundred thousand heads rolled in the dust at every crossroad; and in exchange for every dinar a thousand *qintars* were exacted.

> *Our property was plunder, and our hopes in vain; our affairs in a state of anarchy, and our counsels but the advice of one another.*
>
> *And they drove away our beasts of burden and led off our chargers beneath loads that crushed their saddles,*
>
> *Loads of furniture, clothing, money and goods; what had been acquired by purchase and stored up in treasuries.*
>
> *To this hath Fate condemned some of her people; the calamities of some appear a feast to others.*

Before this order arrived one of the merchants devised a stratagem and escaped from the straits of prison. Having acquainted himself with the state of affairs and ascertained the position of his friends, he set his face to the road, made his way to the Khan and informed him of what had befallen his companions. These tidings had such an effect upon the Khan's mind that the control of repose and tranquillity was removed, and the whirlwind of anger cast dust into the eyes of patience and clemency while the fire of wrath flared up with such a flame that it drove the water from his eyes and could be quenched only by the shedding of blood. [62] In this fever Chingiz-Khan went up alone to the summit of a hill, bared his head, turned his face towards the earth and for three days and nights offered up prayer, saying: 'I was not the author of this trouble;

grant me strength to exact vengeance.' Thereupon he descended from the hill, meditating action and making ready for war. And since Küchlüg and Toq-Toghan, the fugitives from his army, lay across his path, he first sent an army to deal with their mischief and sedition, as has been previously mentioned. He then dispatched envoys to the Sultan to remind him of the treachery which he had needlessly occasioned and to advise him of his intention to march against him; so that he might prepare for war and equip himself with thrusting and striking weapons.

Now it is a fully established fact that whoever sows a dry root never reaps any harvest therefrom, while whoever plants the sapling of opposition by common consent gathers the fruit thereof, namely repentance and regret. And so the beatified Sultan because of the harshness of his disposition and the violence of his custom and nature was involved in grave danger; and in the end his posterity had to taste the bile of punishment therefor and his successors to suffer the bitterness of adversity.

> If thou doest evil, thou dost punish thyself; the eye
> of Fate is not asleep.
> Bizhan's picture is still painted on the walls of palaces;
> he is in the prison of Afrasiyab.

[XII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING KHAN AGAINST THE COUNTRIES OF THE SULTAN AND THE CAPTURE OF OTRAR

WHEN the dust of the seditions of Küchlüg and Toq-Toghan had settled and the thought of them had been dismissed from his mind, he equipped and instructed his sons, the great emirs, the *noyans* and the thousands, hundreds and tens, disposed the two wings and the vanguard, proclaimed a new *yasa*, and in the year 615/1218–19 commenced the march—

> [63] *With youthful Turkish warriors whose onslaught left the*
> *thunder neither sound nor fame;*

Had they passed hurriedly by the house of Qarun,[1] *by nightfall for very indigence he would not have had the wherewithal of a meal.*[2]

They were archers who by the shooting of an arro bring down a hawk from the hollow of the ether, anc nights with a thrust of their spear-heads would cast from the bottom of the sea; who thought the day of marriage-night and considered the pricks of lances the fair maidens.

But first he dispatched a party of envoys to the Sulta him of his resolve to march against him and exact for the slaying of the merchants. For '*he that warne excuse*'.

When he came to the region of Qayaligh, from am princes of that country Arslan-Khan[3] (who had accepted submission and servitude and had guarde against the severity of his punishment by humility and of self and riches, and had then been distinguished wi set out from thence with his own men in the Khan And from Besh-Baligh there joined him the *idi-qut* followers, and from Almaligh Siqnaq Tegin with were veteran warriors; and by these the number of was multiplied.

First of all they came to the town of Otrar

With awesomeness such that the lightning dared not step forward nor the thunder preach aloud.

[64] They pitched his tent *(bārgāh)* in front of th Now the Sultan had given Ghayir-Khan fifty thou from his auxiliary *(bīrūnī)* army and had sent Qarach Hajib, to his aid with another ten thousand: more citadel, the outworks *(faṣīl)*, and the town wall had

[1] Qārūn, the Korah of the Old Testament, was proverbial for his

[2] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammac in praise of the Turks. (M.Q.)

[3] According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1004, 1023–6 and 1054–5) h collaborated with Tolan Cherbi in the capture of two forts in w Northern Afghanistan.

strengthened, and a great quantity of instruments of war collected together. Ghayir-Khan for his part, having made everything ready for battle within the town, posted infantry and cavalry at the gates and himself mounted the wall; where looking forth he bit the back of his hand in amazement at the unexpected sight. For he perceived that the plain had become a tossing sea of countless hosts and splendid troops, while the air was full of clamour and uproar from the neighing of armoured horses and the roaring of mail-clad lions.

> The air became blue, the earth ebony; the sea boiled
> with the noise of the drums.
> With his finger he pointed to the army on the plain, a
> host to which there was no end.[4]

The army formed several circles around the citadel; and when all the troops were assembled there, Chingiz-Khan dispatched each of the leaders in a different direction. His eldest son[5] he sent to Jand[6] and Barjligh-Kent[7] with several *tümen* of brave and active soldiers; while a number of his commanders were sent to Khojend and Fanakat. He himself proceeded against Bokhara, leaving Ögetei and Chaghatai in command of the army that was charged with the investment of Otrar.

As cavalry could be used on every side, the garrison kept up a continuous battle and resisted for a space of five months. Finally, when the position of the people of Otrar had become desperate, Qaracha questioned Ghayir about surrendering and

[4] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 473, ll. 633 and 642. For *bi-jūshīd daryā* 'the sea boiled' Vullers has *bi-junbīd hāmūn* 'the plain was set in motion'.

[5] I.e. Tushi (Jöchi). See Chapter XIII for a detailed account of this expedition down the Syr Darya, which is passed over in complete silence by the contemporary Moslem historians, Ibn-al-Athir, Juzjani and Nasawi. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 39. The Chinese sources, the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 527) and the *Yüan shih* (*ibid.*, 530, Krause, 37) state simply that Jöchi attacked Yang-chi-kan (Yangī-Kent), Pa-êrh-chên (Barchin) and other towns.

[6] The ruins of Jand are situated not far from Kzyl Orda (the former Perovsk) on the right bank of the Syr Darya.

[7] BARJLYΓ KNT. The Barchin of Carpini and the Parch'in (the Venice edition has the corrupt form Kharch'in) of Kirakos. It lay somewhere between Jand and Sughnaq.

delivering up the town to the Mongols. But Ghayir kı he was the cause of these troubles and could not expec to be spared by the Mongols; and [65] he knew of ı hole through which he might escape. Accordingly, tinued to struggle with all his might, knowing concil be inexpedient, and would not countenance surrender. said, 'we are unfaithful to our master (meaning the how shall we excuse our treachery, and under what pret we escape from the reproaches of the Moslems?' Qarı his part, did not persist in his argument, but waited u

> When the sun became invisible to the world and the
> dark night drew its skirt over the day.[8]

he sallied forth with the greater part of his army from ı Khana Gate. The Tartar army entered by the same gat the night and took Qaracha prisoner. When

> *The darkness of the East was dispersed by a perpendicular*
> *line from the radiant morning,*

they bore him to the princes together with some of hi The princes saw fit to examine them closely in every Finally, they declared: 'Thou hast been unfaithful to master in spite of his claims on thee on account of past Therefore neither can we expect fidelity of thee.' The him and all his companions to attain the degree of mart while all the guilty and innocent of Otrar, both weare veil and those that donned *kulah* and turban, were driv from the town like a flock of sheep, and the Mongol whatever goods and wares there were to be found.

As for Ghayir, together with twenty thousand brave ı

[8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 653.

[9] This was typical of the Mongols' attitude in such cases. Thus the groom of Ong-Khan's son, Senggüm, was executed by Chingiz having left his master to perish in the desert. (*Secret History*, § 188 the betrayers of the Conqueror's great rival, Jamuqa, were beheade pains. (*Ibid.*, § 200.) On the other hand, Naya'a of the Ba'arin, persuaded his father and brother to release a captured Tayichi'ut c bitter enemy of Chingiz-Khan, was actually rewarded for his condu § 149.)

lion-like warriors he took refuge in the citadel; and in accordance with the verses

The taste of death in a despicable cause is like
the taste of death in a great cause.[10]

We are all destined to die, young and old; no one
remaineth in this world for ever.

they set their hearts upon death and having bid themselves farewell sallied forth fifty at a time and spitted their bodies upon spears and swords.

The lances are clamouring on our side and on theirs,
the clamour of hungry crocodiles.[11]

And as long as one of them had breath in his body they continued to fight; and for this reason many from the Mongol army were slain. And so the battle went on for a whole month [66] until only Ghayir and two others were left, and still he continued to do battle and would not turn tail and flee. The Mongol army entered the citadel and confined him to the roof; but together with his two companions he still would not surrender. And as the soldiers had been ordered to take him prisoner and not to slay him in battle, in obeying this order they might not kill him. Meanwhile his companions had attained the degree of martyrdom and he had no arms left. Maidens then handed him bricks from the wall of the palace; and when these too were exhausted the Mongols closed in on him. And after he had tried many wiles, and made many attacks, and felled many men, he was led into the snare of captivity and was firmly bound and placed in heavy chains. The citadel and the walls were levelled with the street and the Mongols departed. And those of the common people and artisans that had escaped the sword they bore away with them, either to serve in the levy *(ḥasbar)* or to practise their trade. And when Chingiz-Khan had come from Bokhara to Samarqand they proceeded thither

[10] From a *qasida* by Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)
[11] Muthallam b. Riyah al-Murri, a poet of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

also. As for Ghayir, they caused him in the Kök-Sarai [12] to drink the cup of annihilation and don the garb of eternity.

Such is the way of high heaven; in the one hand
it holds a crown, in the other a noose.[13]

[XIII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF ULUSH-IDI [1] AGAINST JAND, AND THE CONQUEST OF THAT REGION

THE world-obeyed command of the world-conqueror Chingiz-Khan had been issued to the effect [67] that he should free that region from the hands of enemies and that he should be accompanied by emirs representing each of the sons and kinsmen, just as he too had delegated emirs and troops to represent him in the other armies. In the month of . . . he put this intention into action and hastened off with a band of warriors like unto Fate, whom no guile can prevent, or to Death, whom no weapon can repel.

First of all, upon approaching the town of Suqnaq,[2] which lies

[12] Apparently a suburb of Samarqand surrounding a palace of this name (which was afterwards given to a palace built for Tamerlane). See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 412, also below.

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 512, l. 1234.

[1] ALŠ AYDY (for which B and D have ALWŠ AYDY), the Ulus-Idi of Rashid-ad-Din, 'the lord of the *ulus*', i.e. Tushi (Jöchi). See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 148–52, where I suggest that this title, like Ulugh-Noyan in the case of Tolui, was bestowed upon Jochi after his death to avoid the mention of his real name. Not realizing that Ulus-Idi and Jochi were one and the same person, Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 199–201) has represented the former as a general in joint command with the latter; and Ulus-Idi has been identified by Berezin (XV, 171) with the *idi-qut*, the ruler of the Uighur, and by Barthold (*Turkestan*, 416, n. 1) with Jedei Noyan of the Manqut tribe. On the *ulus* or 'peuple-patrimoine' as distinct from the apanage of land, the *yurt* or *nuntuq*, see Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 124 *et seqq*.

[2] SQNAQ. The ruins of Sughnaq or Siqnaq, known as Sunak-Kurgan, lie some six or seven miles north of the post station of Tumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 179.

on the banks of the river near Jand, he sent on Hasan Hajji[3] in advance as his envoy. This Hasan Hajji, in his capacity of merchant, had long been attached to the service of the world-conquering Emperor and was enrolled in the ranks of his followers. After delivering his message, by virtue of his acquaintance and kinship with the inhabitants he was to give them advice and call upon them to submit so that their lives and property might go unscathed. Having entered Suqnaq he communicated his message but before he came to the advice, the rogues, rascals and ruffians *(sharīrān va aubāsh va runūd)* of the town raised an uproar, and shouting *'Allah akbar!'* did him to death; holding their action for one of holy war and desiring a great reward for the slaying of this Moslem; whereas, in reality, that assault was the cause of the opening of their jugular vein and that violence was the reason for the death of all that multitude. *'When the appointed time is at hand, the camel hovers around the water-hole.'*

When Ulush-Idi received tidings of this, he turned his standards against Suqnaq, and, enflamed with the fire of anger, he ordered his troops to fight in relays from morn till night. For seven days they proceeded as he had commanded and took the town by storm, closing the door of forgiveness and mercy and in avenging one single individual expunging from the record of life almost every trace of their existence.

The government of that place was entrusted to the son of the murdered Hasan Hajji that he might gather together the survivors that still remained in odd corners; and advancing from thence the Mongols took Özkend[4] and Barjligh-Kant, where since [68] the people made no great resistance there was no general slaughter. They next proceeded against Ashnas,[5] the garrison of which town consisted mainly of rogues and ruffians *(runūd va aubāsh)*,

[3] Ḥasan Ḥājjī, as was already suggested by Barthold, *op. cit.*, 414, is probably to be identified with Asan, the Mohammedan trader whom the Mongols encountered at Baljuna. (*Secret History*, § 182.)

[4] See above, p. 64 and n. 9. The precise position of Özkend is not known: it may have been situated in the Kara-Tau mountains. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 179.

[5] AŠNAS. The ruins of Ashnas (known as Asanas) are situated on the left bank of the Syr Darya, 17 miles from the river and 20 from the post station of Ber-Kazan. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 179, n. 4.

who fought very bravely so that the greater part of them were martyred.

When news of these events arrived in Jand, Qutlugh-Khan, the commander-in-chief, together with a large army which the Sultan had assigned to the defence of that district, complied with the proverb '*He that escapeth with his head hath gained thereby*': he rose up like a man,[6] turned his back in the night-time, set his face to the road, and crossing the river made across the desert towards Khorazm. When the Mongols received tidings of his departure and of the evacuation of Jand by his forces, they sent Chin-Temür[7] upon an embassy to the inhabitants. He used conciliatory language but warned them against showing hostility. Since there was no absolute leader or governor in Jand, each man spoke according to what in his eyes seemed right or expedient. The common people raised an uproar and attempted to give Chin-Temür—like Hasan[8]—an unpalatable potion. Chin-Temür, perceiving their intentions, in a speech fraught with shrewdness, ingenuity, kindness and conciliation allayed their passions by recalling the affair of Suqnaq and the fate of those who had murdered Hasan Hajji; and he concluded a treaty with them saying that he would not allow the foreign army to interfere with Jand. The inhabitants were pleased with the advice and the agreement and did him no injury. Returning to Ulush-Idi he recounted his experiences, the attempt on his life and its aversion by flattery and soft words, and described also the weakness and impotence of the people and the divergence of their views and passions. Although the Mongol army had

[6] The expression must be used ironically.

[7] JNTMWR. The name is Turkish and means 'True Iron' from *chïn* 'true' and *temür* 'iron'. Cf. the name Edgü-Temür 'Good Iron', as also the compounds with *bolad* 'steel', Kül-Bolat ('Glorious Steel') and Mengü-Bolad ('Eternal Steel'). Rashid-ad-Din states in one place (Khetagurov, 141) that he belonged to the Öngüt tribe; elsewhere (Blochet, 37) he reproduces Juvaini's statement (II, 218; ii, 482) that he was a Qara-Khitayan. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415, n. 1, suggests that he was probably indebted to the Qara-Khitai for his education or else may have been a Qara-Khitayan living amongst the Öngüt. For his further history see below.

[8] I.e. both like Hasan Hajji and like Hasan, the son of 'Ali, who was poisoned by one of his wives.

intended [69] to rest at Qara-Qum [9] and not to attack Jand, for this reason they turned their bridles thitherward and directed their attention towards the capture of that town. On the 4th of Safar, 616 [21st of April, 1219] they halted in front of Jand; and the army busied themselves with filling the moat and setting up battering rams, catapults and scaling-ladders upon it. The inhabitants of the town, apart from closing the gates and seating themselves on the walls and embattlements like spectators at a festival, made no preparations for battle. And since the greater part of the citizens had never had any experience of warfare, they marvelled at the Mongols' activities, saying, 'How is it possible to mount the walls of a fortress?' However, when the bridges had been built and the Mongols laid their scaling-ladders against the citadel, they too were moved to action and began to set a catapult in motion; but a heavy stone in falling to earth smashed the iron ring of the very catapult by which it had been propelled.[10] Thereupon the Mongols scaled the wall from all sides and threw open the gates. No one was hurt on either side. The Mongols afterwards brought the inhabitants out of the town, and since they had withdrawn their feet from battle they laid the hand of mercy upon their heads and spared their lives; though a small number of the chief men, who had been insolent to Chin-Temür, were put to death. For nine days and nights

[9] The text has QRAQRWM, i.e. Qara-Qorum, but in II, 101 (ii, 370), where it is described as 'the place of residence of the Qanqlï', M.Q. has adopted the reading of G, viz. QRAQM, and identified it with the Kara Kum desert to the north-east of the Sea of Aral (not to be confused with the other Kara Kum between Khiva and Merv).

[10] Cf. a similar episode during the siege of Mexico in 1521. A soldier who had served in the Italian wars undertook to construct 'a sort of catapult, a machine for discharging stones of great size, which might take the place of the regular battery-train in demolishing the buildings . . .

'. . . At length the work was finished; and the besieged, who with silent awe had beheld from the neighbouring *azoteas* the progress of the mysterious engine which was to lay the remainder of their capital in ruins, now looked with terror for its operation. The machinery was set in motion; and the rocky fragment was discharged with a tremendous force from the catapult. But, instead of taking the direction of the Aztec buildings, it rose high and perpendicularly into the air, and, descending whence it sprung, broke the ill-omened machine into splinters!' (Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Book VI, ch. vii.)

they kept the inhabitants upon the plain, while they lc town. They then appointed 'Ali Khoja to the governn administration of Jand and entrusted the welfare of tha to his care. This 'Ali Khoja was a native of Qizh near Bokhara and had entered the service of the Mong before their rise to power. He became firmly establishe office and came to be held in high repute; and until th of Death for his dismissal went forth from the Palace he continued to occupy that post.

To the town of Kent[12] there proceeded a commander · *tümen* of troops. He captured the town [70] and left a *shal*

As for Ulush-Idi he proceeded to Qara-Qum.

A band of Turcoman nomads,[13] some ten thou number, were commanded to march against Khoraz Tainal[14] Noyan at their head. After a few days' mai unlucky ascendant caused and instigated them to slay the whom Tainal had set over them in his stead and to br rebellion. Tainal, who was marching in advance, reti quench the flame of their disorder and sedition and : greater part of them, though some escaped by a hair's and together with another army reached Merv and A

[11] Reading QŽDWAN for the QRDWAN of the text. The I Gizhduvan in Uzbekistan.

[12] I.e. Yangi-Kent (as in the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-I nova, 200), in Turkish 'New Town': the Iankint of Carpini. now known as Jankent, lie 'to the south of the Syr-Darya, about r from the former Khivan fortress of Jān Qal'a, fifteen miles from F (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415-16.)

[13] The Turcomans (in Persian *Turkmān*, in Turkish *Türkmen*) are Ghuzz. Both the Seljuqs and the later Ottomans belonged to this the Turkish family. The name according to Deny means something l *pur sang*'. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 311.

[14] TAYNAL. This Tainal Noyan is probably the same as t Nuin of Grigor, 303. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names and Term* is however also possible to read BAYNAL and identify him with who accompanied Chormaghun into Albania and Georgia (Gri See Cleaves, *op cit.*, 415–16.

[15] Amūya, more commonly known as Āmul (not to be confusec Āmul in Mazandaran) was situated on the left bank of the Oxus about to the north-east of Merv. See le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphs* It is the modern Charjui in Turkmenistan.

where their numbers were greatly increased, as shall be recorded in the proper place, God willing.

[XIV]

OF THE CAPTURE OF FANAKAT AND KHOJEND AND THE STORY OF TEMÜR MALIK[1]

ALAQ NOYAN, Sögetü and Taqai[2] with an army of five thousand men were dispatched to Fanakat. The commander of this place was Iletgü[3] Malik. With an army of Qanqli[4] he fought a pitched battle for three days, and the Mongols made no progress until on the fourth day

> When the sun cast his lasso to the heights, and
> Fate rose to high heaven

their opponents begged for quarter and came forth to make surrender. Soldiers and burghers *(arbāb)* were placed in separate groups; whereupon the former were executed to a man, some by the sword and others by a shower of arrows, while the latter

[1] His name means simply 'Temür the *malik*', not 'le Roi de fer' as it is translated by Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 233.

[2] All three generals are mentioned in the list of commanders of a thousand in § 202 of the *Secret History*. Alaq (ALAQ) was the brother of Naya'a of the Ba'arin (on whom see above, p. 84, n. 9; also Khetagurov, 187). Sögetü (SKTW), the Süyiketü Cherbi of the *Secret History* (on the spelling see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 256), belonged to the Qongqotan (§ 120). According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 168) he was the brother of Kökchü or Teb-Tengri, the shaman (see above, p. 39). This is however inconsistent with the facts as given in the *Secret History* (*loc. cit.*), according to which Süyiketü attached himself to Chingiz-Khan on the morning after the latter's breach with Jamuqa, whereas it was not till some time later, after there had been actual hostilities between the two rivals, that Mönglik, the father of Teb-Tengri, came with his seven sons to declare his allegiance (§ 130). As for Taqai (TQAY), he had like Süyiketü joined Chingiz-Khan immediately after the break with Jamuqa (§ 120): he belonged to the Süldüs tribe. On the spelling of his name see Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 255.

[3] AYLTKW.

[4] The Qanqlï Turks (the Cangitae of Carpini and the Cangle of Rubruck) were closely associated with the Qïpchaq or Comans.

were drafted into hundreds and tens. The craftsmen, artisans and keepers of hunting animals *(aṣḥāb-i-javāriḥ)* [71] were assigned [to appropriate employment]; and the young men amongst those remaining were pressed into the levy *(ḥashar)*.

The Mongols then advanced on Khojend. When they arrived before the town, the citizens took refuge in the citadel and found salvation from the calamities of Fate. The commander of the citadel was Temür Malik, of whom it might be said that had Rustam [5] lived in his age he would have been fit only to be his groom. In the middle of the river, where the stream divides into two arms, he had fortified a tall stronghold and had entered it with a thousand fighting men and famous warriors. When the Mongol army arrived they found it impossible to capture the place immediately since it could be reached neither by bowshot nor by mangonel. They therefore drove the young men of Khojend thither in a forced levy *(ḥashar)* and also fetched reinforcements from Otrar, Bokhara, Samarqand and the other towns and villages, so that fifty thousand levies and twenty thousand Mongols were assembled in that place. These were all formed into detachments of tens and hundreds. Over every ten detachments of ten of the Taziks there was set a Mongol officer: on foot they had to carry stones a distance of three parasangs, and the Mongols, on horseback, dropped these stones into the river. Now Temür Malik had built twelve covered-in barges, the damp felt of the covering being smeared with clay kneaded with vinegar, while eye-holes had been left [to shoot from]. Every day at dawn he would dispatch six of these barges in either direction, and they would engage in fierce conflicts, being unaffected by arrows. As for the fire, naphtha and stones which the Mongols threw in the water he used to get rid of it all; and by night he used to make surprise attacks on them. They tried to put a stop to this harrassing, but to no avail, though both arrows and mangonels were employed. When the situation had become difficult and the moment had come to win fame or merit shame, at the time when the loaf-like disk of the

[5] The chief hero of the *Shahnama*, familiar to English readers from the *Sohrab and Rustam* of Matthew Arnold.

sun became food in the belly of the earth and the world from darkness was like a wretched hovel, he embarked his luggage, goods and kit on seventy boats, which he had prepared for the day of escape, while he himself and a group of his men mounted a barge, held up torches and sped along over the water like a flash of lightning, so that one might have said [72]:

A lightning flash has plunged into the darkness pulling down the curtain of night, a flash like the brandishing of a polished sword.

The army moved along the banks of the river, and wherever they appeared in force there he proceeded in the barge and repelled them with arrows which, like Destiny, did not miss their mark. And so he drove the boats on until he came to Fanakat. Here the Mongols had drawn a chain across the river in order to impede the boats. He stuck it one blow and passed through, the armies attacking him from either side until he came to the district of Jand and Barjligh. When news of him reached the ears of Ulush-Idi, he stationed troops in Jand, on either side of the river, constructed a bridge of boats and held ballistas in readiness. Temür Malik received tidings of the army awaiting him: and when he drew near to Barjligh-Kent, he turned to the desert, leaving the water, and fled like fire upon swift horses. The Mongol army followed close at his heels; and so they continued, whilst he for his part would send on his baggage in advance and remain behind to do battle, wielding his sword like a man. And when the baggage had been removed some distance he would follow on. After he had fought in this manner for several days, most of his men had been killed or wounded; and the Mongols, who grew daily stronger, took his baggage away from him. He was left with only a handful of followers, but still resisted, though to no avail. When the few that still accompanied him had been slain and he had no weapon left save three arrows, one broken and without a point, he was pursued by three Mongols. Shooting the pointless arrow he blinded one Mongol in the eye; upon which he said to the two others: 'I have two arrows left. I begrudge using them

when they are only enough for you two. It is in
interest to retire and so save your lives.' The Mongo
ingly withdrew; and he reached Khorazm and again
for battle. With a group of men he proceeded to the
Kent, slew the Mongol *shahna* and retreated. When
considered it inadvisable to remain any longer in
he set out after the Sultan, whom he joined on the
Shahristana. And for a time, while the Sultan was
and fro, he gave proof of his abilities; but after a
departed for Syria in the garb and character of a Sufi.

After some years, when these troubles had subsided
wounds of Time had been healed, the love of home an
were the cause of his return, nay he was urged thereto by
decree. Arriving in Farghana he lived for several ye
town of Osh,[6] in the places of pilgrimage; and bein
of the present state of affairs he used constantly to visit
There he met with his son, to whom, by the good w
Court of Batu, had been granted *(soyurghamishi)* hi
goods and possessions. Temür approached him a
'If you sawst thine own father, wouldst thou know him
The son replied: 'I was but a suckling when I w
from him; I should not recognize him. But there i
here who would know him.' And he sent for the sla
seeing the marks on Temür's body, certified that it w
he. His story was noised abroad, and some other pers
whom deposits had been made, would not accept
denied his identity. On this account he conceived th
going to Qa'an and being viewed with the eye of his co
sion and mercy. Upon the road he met with Qadaq
ordered him to be put in bonds; and all manner
having passed between them Qadaqan questioned him
ing his fighting with the Mongol army.

[6] Reading AWŠ for the ARS of the text. Osh, on the upper re
Syr Darya, now lies within the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia.

[7] QDQAN. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 13), wh
Qadan, as does also the *Yüan shih* (see Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII,*
he sixth son of Ögedei and was brought up in the *ordu* of his uncle

Sea and mountain have seen how I dealt with the illustrious heroes of the Turanian host.
The stars bear witness thereto: by my valour is the whole world beneath my feet.[8]

The Mongol whom he had struck with the broken arrow, now recognised him; and Qadaqan having questioned him more closely, in replying he neglected the ceremonies of respect that are incumbent on those that speak in the presence of royalty. In his anger Qadaqan let fly an arrow, which was the reply to all the arrows which he had discharged on that former occasion. [74]

He writhed in agony and then heaved a sigh; he ceased to think of good or ill.[9]

The wound proving fatal he was removed from this transient dust-heap to the Abode of Eternity, and escaped from the wilderness of

There is no refuge from death and no escape therefrom.

O world, strange are thy deeds, it is thou that breakest and thou too that mendest.[10]

[XV]

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF TRANSOXIANA

TRANSOXIANA comprises many countries, regions, districts and townships, but the kernel and cream thereof are Bokhara and Samarqand. In the *Mu'jam-al-Buldan*[1] it is stated on the authority of Huzaifa b. al-Yaman of Merv that the Apostle of God *(God be gracious to him and grant him peace!) said: ' There shall be conquered a city in Khorasan beyond a river which is called the Oxus; which city is named Bokhara. It is encompassed with*

[8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 488, ll. 502–3. See also the Introduction, pp. xxix and xxxii.

[9] *Ibid.*, 503, l. 1155.

[10] *Ibid.*, 489, l. 924.

[1] The work of the celebrated Arab geographer, Yaqut, a contemporary of Juvaini.

God's mercy and surrounded by His angels; its people are Heaven-aided; and whoso shall sleep upon a bed therein shall be like him that draweth his sword in the way of God. And beyond it lieth a city which is called Samarqand, wherein is a fountain of the fountains of Paradise, and a tomb of the tombs of the prophets, and a garden of the gardens of Paradise; its dead, upon the Resurrection Day, shall be assembled with the martyrs. And beyond this city there lieth holy ground, which is called Qatavan,[2] *wherefrom there shall be sent seventy thousand martyrs, each of whom shall intercede for seventy of his family and kinsfolk.'* We shall give a particular account of the fate of these two cities; and as for the authenticity of this tradition, it is confirmed by the fact that the affairs of this world are relative and that '*some evil is lighter than other*'; or, as has been said:

> Under all circumstances gratitude best befitteth the
> slave [of God], for much evil is worse than
> [simple] evil.

Chingiz-Khan came to these countries in person. The tide of calamity was surging up from the Tartar army, but he had not yet soothed his breast with vengeance nor caused a river of blood to flow, [75] as had been inscribed by the pen of Destiny in the roll of Fate. When, therefore, he took Bokhara and Samarqand, he contented himself with slaughtering and looting once only, and did not go to the extreme of a general massacre. As for the adjoining territories that were subject to these towns or bordered on them, since for the most part they tendered submission, the hand of molestation was to some extent withheld from them. And afterwards, the Mongols pacified the survivors and proceeded with work of reconstruction, so that at the present time, i.e. in 658/1259–60, the prosperity and well-being of these districts have in some cases attained their original level and in others have closely approached it. It is otherwise with Khorasan and Iraq, which countries are afflicted with a hectic fever and a chronic ague: every town and every village has

[2] The reference is to the disastrous defeat of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq by the Qara-Khitai in 1141 on the Qaṭavān steppe to the east of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 326. It was the news of this victory over the Moslems that gave rise in Europe to the legend of Prester John.

been several times subjected to pillage and massacre and has suffered this confusion for years, so that even though there be generation and increase until the Resurrection the population will not attain to a tenth part of what it was before. The history thereof may be ascertained from the records of ruins and midden-heaps declaring how Fate has painted her deeds upon palace walls.

In accordance with the general expectation the reins of those countries were placed in the competent hands of the Great Minister Yalavach and his dutiful son the Emir Mas'ud Beg.[3] By their unerring judgement they repaired the ravages thereof and struck the face of opponents with the saying, '*The druggist may not repair what time hath ravaged*'; and Yalavach abolished compulsory service *(mu'an)* in the levies *(ḥashar)* and the *cherig*[4] as also the burdens and superfluities of occasional imposts *('avāriẓāt)*. And the truth of this statement is to be seen in the records of freshness and prosperity (the glittering East of their justice and mercy), which are plainly written on the pages of those countries and are clearly visible in the affairs of the inhabitants thereof.

[XVI]

OF THE CAPTURE OF BOKHARA

In the Eastern countries it is the cupola of Islam and is in those regions like unto the City of Peace.[1] Its environs are adorned with the brightness of the light of doctors and jurists and its

[3] Mahmud Yalavach was afterwards appointed by Ögedei to the governorship of Khitai, i.e. Northern China, and his son Mas'ud to that of Uighuria, Khotan, Kashghar and Transoxiana. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 85–6. (M.Q.) Barthold, *op. cit.*, 396, n. 3, suggests the identity of Mahmud Yalavach with Mahmud the Khorazmian, who according to Nasawi was one of the leaders of Chingiz-Khan's embassy to Sultan Muhammad. The *Secret History* also (§ 263) refers to Mahmud Yalavach and his son as Khorazmians (*Qurumshi*).

[4] The Turco-Mongol word *cherig* 'soldier', 'army' (it forms the second element of janissary, in Ottoman Turkish *yeni cheri*, 'the new army') is used by Juvaini in the sense of irregular forces collaborating with the Mongols.

[1] I.e. Baghdad.

surroundings embellished with the rarest of high attainments. [76] Since ancient times it has in every age been the place of assembly of the great savants of every religion. Now the derivation of Bokhara is from *bukhar*, which in the language of the Magians signifies *centre of learning*. This word closely resembles a word in the language of the Uighur and Khitayan idolaters, who call their places of worship, which are idol-temples, *bukhar*.[2] But at the time of its foundation the name of the town was Bumijkath.[3]

Chingiz-Khan, having completed the organization and equipment of his armies, arrived in the countries of the Sultan; and dispatching his elder sons and the *noyans* in every direction at the head of large forces, he himself advanced first upon Bokhara, being accompanied by Toli alone of his elder sons and by a host of fearless Turks that knew not clean from unclean, and considered the bowl of war to be a basin of rich soup and held a mouthful of the sword to be a beaker of wine.

He proceeded along the road to Zarnuq,[4] and in the morning when the king of the planets raised his banner on the eastern horizon, he arrived unexpectedly before the town. When the inhabitants thereof, who were unaware of the fraudulent designs of Destiny, beheld the surrounding countryside choked with horsemen and the air black as night with the dust of cavalry, fright and panic overcame them, and fear and dread prevailed. They betook themselves to the citadel and closed the gates, thinking, 'This is perhaps a single detachment of a great army and a single wave from a raging sea.' It was their intention to resist and to approach calamity on their own feet, but they were aided by divine grace so that they stood firm and breathed not opposition. At this juncture, the World-Emperor, in accord-

[2] I.e. the Buddhist *vihāra* or monastery.

[3] The old Soghdian name Bumich-Kath, lit. 'land town', i.e. 'capital'. See Marquart, *Wehrot und Ārang*, 162*n*.

[4] Zarnūq 'is mentioned in the description of Timur's last march from Samarqand through the Jilanuta defile to Utrār [Otrar], as the last station before the bank of the Syr-Darya'. (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 407.) It is also mentioned (in the spelling Zurnukh) as the first stage after Otrar on the return journey of the King of Little Armenia from the Court of Möngke. (Kirakos, 215.)

ance with his constant practice, dispatched Danishmand Hajib upon an embassy to them, to announce the arrival of his forces and to advise them to stand out of the way of a dreadful deluge. Some of the inhabitants, who were in the category of '*Satan hath gotten mastery over them*',[5] were minded to do him harm and mischief; whereupon he raised a shout, saying: 'I am such-and-such a person, a Moslem and the son of a Moslem. Seeking God's pleasure I am come on an embassy to you, at the inflexible command of Chingiz-Khan, to draw you out of the whirpool of destruction and the trough of blood. [77] It is Chingiz-Khan himself who has come with many thousands of warriors. The battle has reached thus far. If you are incited to resist in any way, in an hour's time your citadel will be level ground and the plain a sea of blood. But if you will listen to advice and exhortation with the ear of intelligence and consideration and become submissive and obedient to his command, your lives and property will remain in the stronghold of security.' When the people, both nobles and commoners, had heard his words, which bore the brand of veracity, they did not refuse to accept his advice, knowing for certain that the flood might not be stemmed by their obstructing his passage nor might the quaking of the mountains and the earth be quictened and allayed by the pressure of their feet. And so they held it proper to choose peace and advantageous to accept advice. But by way of caution and security they obtained from him a covenant that if, after the people had gone forth to meet the Khan and obeyed his command, any harm should befall any one of them, the retribution thereof should be on his head. Thus were the people's minds set at ease, and they withdrew their feet from the thought of transgression and turned their faces towards the path of advantage. The chief men of Zarnuq sent forward a delegation bearing presents. When these came to the place where the Emperor's cavalry had halted, he asked about their leaders and notables and was wroth with them for their dilatoriness in remaining behind. He dispatched a messenger to summon them to his presence. Because of the great awe in which the Emperor was

[5] Koran, lviii, 20.

held a tremor of horror appeared on the limbs of these p the quaking of the members of a mountain. The, proceeded to his presence; and when they arrived l them with mercy and clemency and spared their live they were once more of good heart. An order was th that everyone in Zarnuq—be he who he might—botl donned *kulah* and turban and such as wore kerchief should go out of the town on to the plain. The ci turned into level ground; and after a counting of heads t a levy of the youths and young men for the attack on while the rest of the people were suffered to return hom gave the place the name of Qutlugh-Baligh.[6] A guic the Turcomans of that region, [78] who had a perfect k of the roads and highways, led them on by a little fi road; which road has ever since been called the *Kh* (In the year 649/1251–2, when journeying to the Mengü Qa'an in the company of the Emir Arghun along this very road.)

Tayir Bahadur[7] was proceeding in advance of forces. When he and his men drew near to the town they passed through some gardens. During the night t the trees and fashioned ladders out of them. Then hc ladders in front of their horses they advanced very slo the watcher on the walls thought that they were a c merchants, until in this manner they arrived at the ga citadel of Nur; when the day of that people was dark their eyes dimmed.

It is the story of Zarqa of Yamama.[9] She had bu castle, and her keenness of sight was such that if attempted to attack her she would descry his army at of several stages and would prepare and make read) him and drive him off. And so her enemies achieve

[6] I.e. 'the Fortunate Town'.

[7] The Dayir of the *Secret History* (§ 202) and Rashid-ad-Din. to the latter (Khetagurov, 168, Smirnova, 275) he belonged to the

[8] Now Nurata in Uzbekistan.

[9] I.e. the Blue-Eyed Woman of Yamāma. See Nicholson, *A Lit of the Arabs*, 25.

but frustration and there remained no stratagem which they had not tried. [Finally one of them] commanded that trees should be cut down with their branches and that each horseman should hold a tree in front of him. Thereupon Zarqa exclaimed: 'I see a strange sight: the likeness of a forest is moving towards us.' Her people said: 'The keenness of thy sight hath suffered some hurt, else how should trees move?' They neglected to watch or take precautions; and on the third day their foes arrived, and overcame them, and took Zarqa prisoner, and slew her.

To be brief, the people of Nur closed their gates; and Tayir Bahadur sent an envoy to announce the arrival of the World-Conquering Emperor and to induce them to submit and cease resistance. The feelings of the inhabitants were conflicting, because they did not believe that the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan had arrived in person, and on the other hand they were apprehensive about the Sultan. They were therefore uncertain what course to take, some being in favour of submission and surrender while others were for resistance or were afraid [to take any action]. Finally, after much coming and going of ambassadors it was agreed that the people of Nur should prepare an offering of food and send it to the Lord of the Age together with an envoy, and so declare their submission and seek refuge in servitude and obedience. [79] Tayir Bahadur gave his consent and was satisfied with only a small offering. He then went his own way; and the people of Nur dispatched an envoy in the manner that had been agreed upon. After the envoys [sic] had been honoured with the Emperor's acceptance of their offering, he commanded that they should surrender the town to Sübetei,[10] who was approaching Nur with the vanguard. When Sübetei arrived they complied with this command and

[10] SBTAY. The great Mongol general, who together with Jebe (Yeme) swept across Northern Persia in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad, crossed the Caucasus and, after defeating the Russians on the Kalka, returned to Chingiz-Khan by way of the Qipchaq Steppe. See below, Chapter XXV; also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 257–61 and 515–21, *Le Conquérant du Monde*, 340–6. In the *Secret History* his name is spelt Sübe'etei; he belonged to the Uriangqat tribe (*ibid.*, § 120, Khetagurov, 159).

elivered up the town. Hereupon an agreement was reached ıat the people of Nur should be content with the deliverance f the community from danger and the retention of what was bsolutely necessary for their livelihood and the pursuit of ıusbandry and agriculture, such as sheep and cows; and that ıey should go out on to the plain leaving their houses exactly · they were so that they might be looted by the army. They xecuted this order, and the army entered the town and bore ff whatever they found there. The Mongols abided by this greement and did no harm to any of them. The people of Iur then selected sixty men and dispatched them, together with l-Khoja, the son of the Emir of Nur, to Dabus [11] to render ssistance to the Mongols. When Chingiz-Khan arrived, they vent forth to meet him bearing suitable [presents] in the way f *tuzghu* [12] and offerings of food *(nuzl)*. Chingiz-Khan disınguished them with royal favour and asked them what fixed ıxes *(māl-i-qarārī)* the Sultan drew from Nur. They replied hat these amounted to 1500 dinars; and he commanded them ɔ pay this sum in cash and they should suffer no further inconenience. Half of this amount was produced from the women's ar-rings, and they gave security for the rest and [finally] paid : to the Mongols. And so were the people of Nur delivered rom the humiliation of Tartar bondage and slavery, and Nur egained its splendour [13] and prosperity.

And from thence Chingiz-Khan proceeded to Bokhara, and n the beginning of Muharram, 617 [March, 1220],[14] he ncamped before the gates of the citadel.

> And then they pitched the king's pavilion on the
> plain in front of the stronghold.[15]

---

[11] Dabūs or Dabūsiya lay on the highroad between Bokhara and Samarqand. The name is preserved in the ruins of Qal'a-yi-Dabus somewhat to the east of Ziaddin. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 97.

[12] Reading TZΓW for the TRΓW of the text. The Turkish *tuzghu*, like ts Arabic equivalent *nuzl*, means 'food offered to the passing traveller'. The vord occurs in Grigor (300) in the form *tzghu*. See also Cleaves, *The Mongolian Vames*, 442.

[13] Lit. 'light' (*nūr*): a pun on the name.

[14] In February according to Ibn-al-Athir and Juzjani. See Barthold, *op. it.*, 409.

[15] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 651.

[80] And his troops were more numerous than ants or locusts, being in their multitude beyond estimation or computation. Detachment after detachment arrived, each like a billowing sea, and encamped round about the town. At sunrise twenty thousand men from the Sultan's auxiliary *(bīrūnī)* army issued forth from the citadel together with most of the inhabitants; being commanded by Kök-Khan[16] and other officers such as Khamid-Bur,[17] Sevinch-Khan[18] and Keshli-Khan.[19] Kök-Khan was said to be a Mongol and to have fled from Chingiz-Khan and joined the Sultan *(the proof of which statements must rest with their author)*; as a consequence of which his affairs had greatly prospered. When these forces reached the banks of the Oxus, the patrols and advance parties of the Mongol army fell upon them and left no trace of them.

When it is impossible to flee from destruction in any
manner, then patience is the best and wisest course.[20]

On the following day when from the reflection of the sun the plain seemed to be a tray filled with blood, the people of Bokhara opened their gates and closed the door of strife and battle. The *imams* and notables came on a deputation to Chingiz-Khan, who entered to inspect the town and the citadel. He rode into the Friday mosque and pulled up before the *maqsura*, whereupon his son Toli dismounted and ascended the pulpit. Chingiz-Khan asked those present whether this was the palace

[16] C has KWR XAN, i.e. Gür-Khan, and it has been suggested by Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 119–20, that this was no other than Chingiz-Khan's old rival Jamuqa, who as the head of a confederation opposed to his former friend received the title of *gür-khan*. See Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde*, 132. On the other hand, according to the native sources he had been executed by Chingiz-Khan many years before the campaign against the West. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 206–10.

[17] XMYD BWR. Perhaps Ḥamīd-Pūr. He was a Qara-Khitayan and the brother of Baraq Hājib, the first of the Qutlugh-Khans of Kerman. See below, ii, 476.

[18] SWNJ XAN.

[19] KŠLY XAN. His full name was Ikhtiyār-ad-Din Keshli or Küshlü; he was the Grand Equerry *(amīr-ākhur)* of the Khorazm-Shah. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 62 and 80, and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 191 and 205); also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 409.

[20] From a *qasida* by Abu-Firas al-Hamdani. (M.Q.)

of the Sultan; they replied that it was the house of he too got down from his horse, and mounting t steps of the pulpit he exclaimed: 'The countryside fodder; fill our horses' bellies.' Whereupon they the magazines in the town and began carrying o And they brought the cases in which the Korans w into the courtyard of the mosque, where they cast right and left and turned the cases into mangers for After which they circulated cups of wine and singing-girls of the town to sing and dance for th the Mongols raised their voices to the tunes of their [81] Meanwhile, the *imams, shaikhs, sayyids,* doctors of the age kept watch over their horses in the stabl supervision of the equerries, and executed their After an hour or two Chingiz-Khan arose to return and as the multitude that had been gathered there r the leaves of the Koran were trampled in the dirt b own feet and their horses' hoofs. In that momen Imam Jalal-ad-Din 'Ali b. al-Hasan Zaidi,[21] who v and leader of the *sayyids* of Transoxiana and was far piety and asceticism, turned to the learned *imam* R Imamzada, who was one of the most excellent sa world—*may God render pleasant the resting-places of* and said: '*Maulana,* what state is this?

That which I see do I see it in wakefulness or in sleep, O

Maulana Imamzada answered: 'Be silent: it is t God's omnipotence that bloweth, and we have n speak.'

When Chingiz-Khan left the town he went to *musalla* and mounted the pulpit; and, the people l assembled, he asked which were the wealthy am Two hundred and eighty persons were designated and ninety of them being natives of the town and the r

[21] So according to C, D and E. The text has RNDY. Ba 410, reads Zandī with B (ZNDY).

[22] Anvari. Quoted also below, ii, 639.

viz. ninety merchants from various places and were led before him. He then began a speech, in which, after describing the resistance and treachery of the Sultan (of which more than enough has been said already) he addressed them as follows: 'O people, know that you have committed great sins, and that the great ones among you have committed these sins. If you ask me what proof I have for these words, I say it is because I am the punishment of God. If you had not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you.' When he had finished speaking in this strain, he continued his discourse with words of admonition, saying, 'There is no need to declare your property that is on the face of the earth; [82] tell me of that which is in the belly of the earth.' Then he asked them who were their men of authority; and each man indicated his own people. To each of them he assigned a Mongol or Turk [23] as *basqaq* [24] in order that the soldiers might not molest them, and, although not subjecting them to disgrace or humiliation, they began to exact money from these men; and when they delivered it up they did not torment them by excessive punishment or demanding what was beyond their power to pay. And every day, at the rising of the greater luminary, the guards would bring a party of notables to the audience-hall of the World-Emperor.

Chingiz-Khan had given orders for the Sultan's troops to be driven out of the interior of the town and the citadel. As it was impossible to accomplish this purpose by employing the

[23] Reading TRKY with C and E for the YZKY (i.e. *yazaki* 'a patrol') of the text.

[24] The Turkish equivalent of the Arabo-Persian *shaḥna* (see above, p. 44, n. 3) and the Mongol *darugha* or *darughachi(n)*. On the identity in meaning of the Turkish and Mongol terms see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 72–3, n. 1. Both are derived from roots (Turkish *bas-* and Mongol *daru-*) meaning 'to press' but not in the sense of one who 'presses', i.e. oppresses, the people but of one who 'affixes' a seal. The Turkish term was used by the Russian chroniclers (see Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 220) and also by Carpini: 'Bastacos [*bascacos] sive prefectos suos ponunt in terra illorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet ut ad nutum tam duces quam alii debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius civitatis vel terre non faciunt quod volunt isti bastaki [*bascaki] opponunt eis quod sint Tartaris infideles . . .' (Wyngaert, 86.)

townspeople and as these troops, being in fear of their lives, were fighting, and doing battle, and making night attacks as much as was possible, he now gave orders for all the quarters of the town to be set on fire; and since the houses were built entirely of wood, within several days the greater part of the town had been consumed, with the exception of the Friday mosque and some of the palaces, which were built with baked bricks. Then the people of Bokhara were driven against the citadel. And on either side the furnace of battle was heated. On the outside, mangonels were erected, bows bent and stones and arrows discharged; and on the inside, ballistas and pots of naphtha were set in motion. It was like a red-hot furnace fed from without by hard sticks thrust into the recesses, while from the belly of the furnace sparks shoot into the air. For days they fought in this manner; the garrison made sallies against the besiegers, and Kök-Khan in particular, who in bravery would have borne the palm from male lions, engaged in many battles: in each attack he overthrew several persons and alone repelled a great army. But finally they were reduced to the last extremity; resistance was no longer in their power; and they stood excused before God and man. The moat had been filled with animate and inanimate and raised up with levies and Bokharians; the outworks *(faṣīl)* had been captured [83] and fire hurled into the citadel; and their khans, leaders and notables, who were the chief men of the age and the favourites of the Sultan and who in their glory would set their feet on the head of Heaven, now became the captives of abasement and were drowned in the sea of annihilation.

Fate playeth with mankind the game of the sticks with the ball,
Or the game of the wind blowing (know thou!) a handful of millet.
Fate is a hunter, and man is naught but a lark.[25]

Of the Qanqli no male was spared who stood higher than the butt of a whip and more than thirty thousand were counted

[25] By the Cadi Abul-Fadl Ahmad b. Muhammad ar-Rashidi al-Laukari. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., II, 77.

amongst the slain; whilst their small children, the children of their nobles and their womenfolk, slender as the cypress, were reduced to slavery.

When the town and the citadel had been purged of rebels and the walls and outworks levelled with the dust, all the inhabitants of the town, men and women, ugly and beautiful, were driven out on to the field of the *musalla.* Chingiz-Khan spared their lives; but the youths and full-grown men that were fit for such service were pressed into a levy *(ḥashar)* for the attack on Samarqand and Dabusiya. Chingiz-Khan then proceeded against Samarqand; and the people of Bokhara, because of the desolation, were scattered like the constellation of the Bear and departed into the villages, while the site of the town became like '*a level plain*'.[26]

Now one man had escaped from Bokhara after its capture and had come to Khorasan. He was questioned about the fate of that city and replied: 'They came, they sapped, they burnt, they slew, they plundered and they departed.' Men of understanding who heard this description were all agreed that in the Persian language there could be nothing more concise than this speech. And indeed all that has been written in this chapter is summed up and epitomized in these two or three words.

After the capture of Samarqand Chingiz-Khan appointed Tausha Basqaq[27] [84] to the command and governorship of the district of Bokhara. He proceeded thither and the town made some little progress towards prosperity. Finally, when, by the order of the World-Emperor, the latter-day Hatim,[28] Qa'an, the keys of government were placed in the solicitous hands of the Minister Yalavach, those scattered and dispersed in nooks and crannies were by the magnet of his justice and clemency attracted back to their former homes, and from all parts of the world people turned their faces thitherward; for because of his

[26] Koran, xx, 106.

[27] I.e. Tausha the *basqaq*. The text has TWŠA, which might also be read Tusha or Tosha, but cf. below, I, 87, the variant spelling TMŠA, i.e. apparently Tamsha.

[28] I.e. Ḥātim of Ṭayyi', a pre-Islamic Arab famous for his generosity and hospitality. See Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 85–7.

solicitude the prosperity of the town was on the increase, nay it reached its highest pitch and its territory became the home of the great and noble and the place of assembly of patrician and plebeian.

Suddenly in the year 636/1238–9 a sieve-maker of Tarab in the district of Bokhara rose up in rebellion in the dress of the people of rags,[29] and the common people rallied to his standard; and finally things came to such a pass that orders were given for the execution of all the inhabitants of Bokhara. But the Minister Yalavach, like a good prayer, averted their evil fate and by his mercy and solicitude repelled from them this sudden calamity. And that territory regained its splendour and prosperity and the affairs thereof recovered their lustre. And day by day the bounty of God's favour, by dint of which mercy and compassion everywhere form the carpet of justice and munificence, shines forth like the sun in the mercy of Mahmud and the pearl of that sea, namely Mas'ud.[30] And to-day no town in the countries of Islam will bear comparison with Bokhara in the thronging of its creatures, the multitude of movable and immovable wealth, the concourse of savants, the flourishing of science and the students thereof and the establishment of pious endowments. Two edifices of lofty porch and firm foundation that were built in this place at this period are the Madrasa-yi-Khani built by Sorqotani[31] [85] and the Madrasa-yi-Mas'udiya, in each of

[29] I.e. the Sufis.

[30] I.e. Mahmud Yalavach and his son Mas'ud. See above, p. 97, n. 3.

[31] The Sorqaqtani of the *Secret History*, Sorqoqtani of Rashid-ad-Din and Seroctan (*Soroctan) of Carpini. She was the younger daughter of Ja-Gambu, the brother of Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit. After the final defeat of that people Chingiz-Khan gave her in marriage to his youngest son, Tolui, and she became the mother of Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Arïgh Böke. The name of this princess is discussed at length by Pelliot in his article, *Le vrai nom de Serotan*; see also *Campagnes*, 66–7 and 133. It is the feminine form of a name which appears as Sorqatu in the *Secret History* and Sorqoqtu in Rashid-ad-Din and is an adjective in *-tu* from a word *sorqaq*, *sorqoq* or *sorqan* 'birthmark'. The meaning of Sorqaqtani, etc., is therefore 'she that has a birthmark'. As for the form of the name in Juvaini, the text has everywhere (except in one instance) SRQWYTY, but there is MS. authority for a form SRQWTNY, which is also the reading of Barhebraeus in both his Syriac and his Arabic history. I see in this form, viz. Sorqotani, the feminine of a form Sorqotu corre-

which every day a thousand students are engaged in profitable studies, while the professors are the greatest scholars of the age and the wonders of their day. And indeed these two buildings with their lofty pillars and trim courts at once adorn and dignify Bokhara, nay they are an ornament and delight to all Islam.

Under these circumstances the people of Bokhara have regained some comfort as well as relief from subventions and similar burdens. May God Almighty adorn the surface of the earth with the continuance of the Just King's being and with the splendour of Islam and the Hanafite faith!

[XVII]

OF THE REBELLION OF THE TARABI [1]

In the year 636/1238–9 there was a conjunction of the two malefic planets [2] in the house of Cancer, and the astrologers had calculated that an insurrection would break out and that perhaps a heretic would arise.

Three parasangs from Bokhara there lies a village called Tarab, in which there dwelt a man named Mahmud, a sieve-maker, of whom it was said that in stupidity and ignorance he had not his equal. This man began to sham and counterfeit piety and saintliness and claimed to have powers of magic (*pari-dārī*), i.e. he asserted that jinns held converse with him and informed him of what was hidden.

For in Transoxiana and Turkestan many persons, especially women, claim to have magical powers; and when anyone has a pain or falls ill, they visit him, summon the exorcist (*pari-khwān*), perform dances and similar nonsense and in this manner convince the ignorant and the vulgar.

sponding to the Sorqatu of the *Secret History*. On the other hand, in one place (II, 219) the text has SRQWQYTY, i.e. SRQWQTNY, the Sorqoqtani of Rashid-ad-Din, and it may be that the normal SRQWYTY is also a corruption of this form.

[1] This chapter is the subject of an article by A. Yakubovsky (*Vosstaniye Tarabī v 1238g.*) in *Trudī Instit. Vostokoved.*, XVII, 1936. (V.M.)

[2] I.e. Saturn and Mars.

Mahmud's sister used to instruct him in all the absurdities of the magicians *(pari-dārān)* [86] which he would at once spread abroad. Now what can the vulgar do but follow their ignorance ? And in fact the common people turned towards him, and wherever there was a paralytic or one afflicted in any way they would bring him to Mahmud. It chanced that one or two of the persons that were brought to him in this way were found [afterwards] to bear signs of health; whereupon most of the people turned towards him, both the nobility and the commonalty, '*save them that shall come to God with a sound heart*'.[3]

In Bokhara I heard from several respectable and creditable persons how in their actual presence he had blown a medicine prepared from dogs' excrement into the eyes of one or two blind persons, and how they had recovered their sight. I replied: 'The seeing were blind, or else this was a miracle of Jesus, the son of Mary, and no one else. *As God Almighty hath said: "Thou didst heal the blind and the leper."*[4] As for me, if I should see such things with my own eyes, I should concern myself with the treatment of my eyesight.'

Now in Bokhara there was a learned man, renowned for his virtue and descent, whose *laqab* was Shams-ad-Din Mahbubi. This man, by reason of his prejudice against the *imams* of Bokhara, aggravated the disease of that madman and joined the band of his followers, telling that ignoramus how his father had recorded and written in a book that from Tarab of Bokhara there should arise a mighty lord, who should conquer the world; and had indicated the signs thereof, which were manifest on Mahmud.

By this deception the ignorant, foolish man became even more puffed up with pride; and since these words agreed with the calculation of the astrologers, his followers increased in number, the whole town and region turned towards him, and confusion and unrest became apparent. The emirs and *basqaqs* that were present in Bokhara consulted with one another as to the means of quenching the flame of the turmoil and dispatched a messenger

[3] Koran, xxvi, 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, v, 110.

to Khojend to the Minister Yalavach, to acquaint him with the situation. Meanwhile, under the pretext of seeking favour and a blessing, they went to Tarab and besought Mahmud to come to Bokhara that the city also might be adorned with his presence. It had been arranged that when he reached Sar-i-Pul [5] near Vazidan he should be suddenly assailed with a shower of arrows. When they set out from Tarab, he observed signs of displeasure in their attitude; and when they drew near to Sar-i-Pul, [87] he turned to Tamsha,[6] who was the senior *shahna,* and said: 'Desist from thy evil intent, else I will command that without the intervention of human hand thy world-comprehending eye be wrenched out.' When the Mongols heard these words, they said: 'It is certain that no one has advised him of our intention; perhaps everything he says is true.' They were afraid, and did him no harm; and so he came to Bokhara and alighted at the palace of Sanjar-Malik.

The emirs, grandees and chief men surpassed themselves in showing him honours and attentions, while all the time they sought an opportunity to slay him; but the common people were in the majority and that quarter of the town where he was lodged and the neighbouring bazaar were so filled with people that there was not even room for a cat to pass. The thronging of the people soon passed all bounds; and as they refused to depart without his blessing and there were no ways of entry left and it was equally impossible for him to come out, he went up on the roof of the palace and rained down spittle upon them. Every person on whom there fell a sprinkling departed to his home smiling and contented.

One of the followers of his error then informed him of those people's [7] intention; and all at once he stole out of a doorway and mounted one of the horses that were fastened there. The onlookers, being strangers, did not know who he was and paid no attention to him. In one gallop he reached the hill of Abu-

[5] Vazīdān has not been identified. Sar-i-Pul, 'the Bridgehead', is the older Khushūfaghn. The ruins of the fortress of this name are situated 4 miles from Katta-Kurgan. See Barthold, *Turkestan,* 126–7.

[6] TMŠA. Called Tausha above, p. 107.

[7] I.e. the Mongols'.

Hafs; and in one moment a crowd of people were gathe around him. After some time [the Mongols] sought that fool man and could not find him. Horsemen galloped in all di tions in search of him, until all at once they discovered hin the top of the aforesaid hill. They returned and reported whereabouts. The common people raised up a shout, sayi 'With one stroke of his wings the Master (Khoja) has flowr Abu-Hafs.' And at once the reins of choice fell from the ha of great and small, and the greater part of the people turned t faces towards the open country and Abu-Hafs, and gathe around Mahmud.

At the time of the evening prayer he rose up, and turn towards the people spoke as follows: 'O men of God, why you linger and wait? The world must be purged of the infi Let each of you equip himself as best he can, with weapon tool, staff or club, and set to work.'

Upon this all men in Bokhara turned towards him; a that day being Friday he re-entered the town, alighted at palace of Rabi' Malik and sent for the *sadrs*, grandees and notal of the town. [88] He superseded the chief of the *sadrs*, nay the age, Burhan-ad-Din, the seed of the house of Burhan a the last of the race of Sadr-Jahan,[8] because he had no defect reason or virtue; and in his stead he appointed Shams Mahb to the office of *sadr*. And he insulted most of the grandees a notables and besmirched their honour; some of them he s but others succeeded in escaping.

Thereupon he sought the favour of the vulgar and dissol (*'avāmm va runūd*) by speaking as follows: 'My army is pa visible, consisting of men, and partly invisible, consisting of heavenly hosts, which fly in the air, and of the tribe of the jir

[8] On this 'dynasty of hereditary ra'ises of the town . . . which from name of its founder was entitled "the house of Burhān",' see Barthold, *op.* 326 and 353–4. 'The office of ra'īs, head of a town and its neighbourh was not infrequently hereditary from father to son . . . The ra'īs was the c person in the town and the representative of its interests; through him the sover made known his will to the inhabitants. It is very probable that, at any at first, they were nominated from amongst the members of important l families.' (*Ibid.*, 234.)

which walk on the earth. And now I will reveal these to you also. Look at the heaven and the earth that you may see the proof of my claim.' The initiated amongst his followers began to look, and he would say: 'Behold! in such-and-such a place they fly in green raiment, and in the same place they also fly in garments of white.' The vulgar (*'avāmm*) agreed with all he said; and whenever anyone said, 'I see nothing,' his eyes were opened with the cudgel.

He also kept saying: 'God Almighty will send us arms from the invisible'; and at this juncture a merchant arrived from Shiraz bringing four *kharvars* of swords. After that the people no longer entertained any doubt as to victory; and that Friday the *khutba* was read in Mahmud's name as Sultan of Bokhara.

When the prayers were concluded he sent to the houses of the great to fetch tents, *yurts,* carpets and rugs. And the people formed themselves into large bands, and the rogues and ruffians (*runūd va aubāsh*) entered the houses of the wealthy and set their hands to pillage and plunder. When night fell, the Sultan suddenly retired to the company of peri-like maidens and heart-ravishing damsels and engaged in pleasant dalliance with them. In the morning he performed the ceremonial purification in a tank of water, in accordance with the verse:

When she left me she washed me, as though we had been applying ourselves to what was wrong.[9]

By way of seeking favour and a blessing the people divided this water into portions of a maund and a *daramsang* and made them into potions for the sick. As for the property they had obtained, Mahmud bestowed it on this man and that and shared it out (*tafriqa*) amongst his troops and associates.

[89] When his sister saw his pre-occupation with women and riches, she seceded from his faction, saying: 'His cause, which came into being through me, has changed for the worse.'

Meanwhile the emirs and *sadrs,* who had read the verse of

[9] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

'Flight', assembled in Karminiya,[10] and calling togetl
Mongols that were stationed in that area, they fitted out a
of such troops as could be mustered from every side and ad
on Bokhara. Mahmud, too, made preparations for bat
marched to encounter the Mongol army with a band of
loungers clad only in shirt and *izār*. Both sides put thei
in battle-array, the Tarabi and Mahbubi standing in thei
without weapon or breast-plate. Now it had been
abroad among the people that whoever moved a hand
Mahmud would become paralysed *(khushk)*; consequen
army too were somewhat slow in stretching their hands to
and bow. Nevertheless, one of their number let fly an
which struck him in a vital part, while another of the
Mahbubi also; but no one was aware of this either of h
people or of their other opponents. At this juncture a
wind arose and the dust was stirred up to such an exte
they could not see one another. The enemy thought th
was one of the Tarabi's miracles; and they withdrew
hands from battle and set their faces towards flight, w
Tarabi's army at their heels. The people of the country
issuing forth from their villages fell upon the fugitive
spades and axes; and whenever they came upon one
number, especially if he was a tax-gatherer or landowne
seized him and battered in his head with their axes.
followed the Mongols as far as Karminiya, and nea
thousand were slain.

When the followers of the Tarabi returned from the
they could not find him and said: 'The Master has
into the unseen; until he re-appears his two brothers Muha
and 'Ali, shall be his vicegerents.'

These two ignorant men proceeded after the manner
Tarabi; the vulgar and the rabble *('avāmm va aubāsh)*
their followers and at once, the reins being loosened, s
hands to plunder and rapine. At the end of one week
Noyan and Chigin[12] Qorchi arrived with a large ar

[10] Now Kermine. [11] AYLDZ. [12] ČKYN. A
the Mongol form of *tigin* 'lord' as in *ot-chigin*. See above, p. 42, n.

Mongols. [90] Again these foolish persons advanced with their men into the open country and drew up in battle-array completely unarmoured. At the first discharge of arrows both these misguided fellows were killed, and about twenty thousand others were also slain on this occasion.

The next day, after the swordsmen of dawn had cloven the skull of night, the people of Bokhara, both men and women, were driven out into the open; and the Mongols sharpened the tooth of revenge and opened the jaws of greed, saying: 'Again we will strike a blow, and satisfy our appetite, and turn these people into fuel for the fire of calamity, and carry off their property and their children.'

It was only the divine grace and favour that through the agency of Mahmud's [13] mercy rendered the end of this disturbance as praiseworthy as his name [14] and the ascendant of the town once more auspicious.[15] When he arrived he checked and prohibited their massacring and looting, saying: 'Because of the wickedness of a few how can you slay so many thousands? And how can you destroy a city which we have so long endeavoured to restore to its prosperity because of a few ignorant people?' After much importunity, exertion and insistence he agreed that the matter should be referred to Qa'an and that whatever order he might give should be put into execution. Afterwards he dispatched messengers to the Emperor and exerted great efforts, so that the latter passed over the fault which had no possibility of forgiveness and spared their lives. And because of that endeavour he earned praise and thanks.

[XVIII]

OF THE CONQUEST OF SAMARQAND

IT was the greatest of the countries of the Sultan's empire in width of territory, the most pleasant of his lands in fertility of

[13] I.e. Mahmud Yalavach's.

[14] Mahmud means 'praiseworthy'.

[15] *mas'ūd.* A pun on Mas'ud, the name of Mahmud's son.

soil and, by common consent, the most delectable of the paradises of this world among the four Edens.

If it is said that a paradise is to be seen in this
world, then the paradise of this world is Samarqand.
O thou who comparest the land of Balkh therewith, are
colocynth and candy equal to one another? [1]

Its air inclines to mildness, its water is embraced in the favour of the North wind and its earth by the force of its exhilaration has acquired the property of the fire of wine.[2]

[91] *A country whose stones are jewels, whose soil is*
musk and whose rain water is strong wine.[3]

When the Sultan withdrew from the conflict, the control of firmness having slipped from his hands and the attraction of constancy having been replaced by that of flight, while perplexity and doubt had taken abode in his nature; he deputed the protection of most of his lands and territories to his generals *(quvvād)* and allies *(anṣār)*. Thus to Samarqand he has assigned a hundred and ten thousand men, of whom sixty thousand were Turks, with their khans, who were the Sultan's élite and such that had Isfandiyar[4] of the brazen body felt the prick of their arrows and the thrust of their lances, he would have had no resource but [to acknowledge] his weakness and [beg for] quarter. The rest of the army consisted of fifty thousand Taziks,[5]

[1] Attributed by Yaqut—under Samarqand—to Busti, i.e. apparently Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

[2] The word for 'fire' does not occur in A and is not required by the sense. It is introduced in accordance with the figure known as *tanāsub* (see below, p. 117, n. 7): three of the elements having been mentioned the fourth must somehow be mentioned too.

[3] From a *qasida* by Abu-Sa'id ar-Rustami in praise of Sahib b. 'Abbad: the poet is praising Isfahan. (M.Q.)

[4] Isfandiyār, a celebrated hero of the National Epic. The son of Gushtāsp, the patron of Zoroaster, he is ordered by his father to make war on Rustam, who had refused to accept the new religion; and the slaying of Isfandiyār is the last geste of the aged hero, who soon after meets his own end through the treachery of a brother.

[5] Tazik or Tajik was the term applied by the Turks to the Iranians. Cf. the modern Tajikistan. Actually *tāzīk* or *tāzī* is a Persian word and was applied by the Persians themselves to the Arabs: hence *Ta-shih*, the Chinese name for the Arabs.

picked men *(mufradān)* each of whom was in himself the Rustam of the age and the cream of the armies; together with twenty elephants of perfect shape and *div*-like appearance,

Who twisted columns and played with serpents
And wore coats of mail that exhibited many colours,[6]

to be a protection *(farzīn-band)*[7] to the king's horse and foot upon the field of battle, that they might not avert their faces from attack and assault. Moreover, the numbers of the townspeople themselves were such as to be beyond computation. And in addition to all this, the citadel had been greatly strengthened, several lines of outworks *(faṣīl)* had been drawn around it, the walls had been raised to the Pleiades and the moat sunk through the dry earth to the water beneath.

When Chingiz-Khan arrived at Otrar the news had been spread abroad of the strengthening of the walls and the citadel of Samarqand and the great size of its garrison; and everyone was of the opinion that it would be a matter of years before the town could be taken, to say nothing of the citadel. Following the path of circumspection he held it expedient to purge the surrounding country before proceeding against the town. First of all, he advanced against Bokhara [92], and when his mind had been set at rest by the capture of that city, he concerned himself with the question of Samarqand. Turning his reins in that direction he drove before him a great levy raised in Bokhara; and whenever the villages on his path submitted, he in no way molested them; but wherever they offered resistance, as in Sar-i-Pul and Dabusiya, he left troops to besiege them, while he himself made no halt until he reached Samarqand. When his sons had disposed of the affair of Otrar, they too arrived with a levy raised in that town; they chose the Kök-Sarai for

[6] From a *qasida* by Badi'-az-Zaman of Hamadan in praise of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. (M.Q.)

[7] Lit. 'a check to the king by the queen at chess'. The whole passage is an example of the figure called *tanāsub*: the mention of *fīl* 'elephant', in chess 'bishop', involves the introduction of the other chessmen: *asb* 'horse' or 'knight', *piyāda* 'foot-soldier' or 'pawn', *shāh* 'king', *farzīn* (in *farzīn-band*) 'queen' and *rukh* 'cheek', 'face' or 'castle', 'rook'.

Chingiz-Khan's encampment. The other troops also, as they arrived, encamped round about the town.

For a day or two Chingiz-Khan circled the town in person in order to inspect the walls, the outworks and the gates; and during this period he exempted his men from fighting. At the same time he dispatched Yeme and Sübetei, who were two of the great *noyans* and enjoyed his special trust, in pursuit of the Sultan together with thirty thousand men; and sent Ghadaq Noyan and Yasa'ur [8] to Vakhsh and Talaqan.[9]

Finally, on the third day, when the flare of the sun's flame had risen from the darkness of the pitchy night's smoke and the nocturnal blackness had retired to the seclusion of a corner, so many men, both Mongols and levies, were assembled together that their numbers exceeded those of the sand of the desert or drops of rain. They stationed themselves in a circle round about the town; and Alp-Er [10] Khan, Shaikh Khan, Bala Khan and some other khans made a sally into the open, drew up opposite the army of the world-subduing Emperor and discharged their arrows. Many horse and foot were slain on either side. That day the Sultan's Turks engaged in constant skirmishes with the Mongols—for the light of the candle flares up a little before going out—killing some of the Mongol army, [93] capturing others and carrying them into the town, while a thousand of their own number likewise fell.

Finally,

> When for the benefit of the earth the fire of heaven
> was hidden by the earth's smoke,

everyone retired to his quarters. But as soon as the deceitful shield-bearer again struck his sword upon the cloud of night,

[8] See above, p. 46 and n. 13.

[9] This Ṭalaqān (or Ṭayaqān, cf. the Taican of Marco Polo), now the town and district of Talikhan in the Afghan province of Badakhshan, is not to be confused with the Talaqan destroyed by Chingiz-Khan (see below, p. 132), which lay between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rud. There was also a district called Ṭālaqān near Qazvin.

[10] ALBAR. Lit. 'Brave Man' from the Turkish *alp* 'brave' and *er* 'man' (*vir*).

Chingiz-Khan mounted in person and stationed his troops in a circle round about the town. Both inside and outside the troops assembled and made ready for battle; and they pulled up the girth of combat and hostility until the time of evening prayer. From the discharge of mangonels and bows, arrows and stones were set in flight; and the Mongol army took up a position at the very gates and so prevented the Sultan's troop from issuing forth on to the field of battle. And when the path of combat was closed to them, and the two parties had become entangled on the chess-board of war and the valiant knights were no longer able to manoeuvre their horses upon the plain, they threw in their elephants; but the Mongols did not turn tail, on the contrary with their King-checking arrows they liberated those that were held in check by the elephants and broke up the ranks of the infantry. When the elephants had received wounds and were of no more use than the foot-soldiers of chess, they turned back trampling many people underneath their feet.[11] At length, when the Emperor of Khotan[12] had let down the veil over his face, they closed the gates.

The people of Samarqand had been rendered apprehensiv by this day's fighting, and their passions and opinions were divergent: some were desirous of submission and surrender, while others feared for their lives; some, by heavenly decree were restrained from making peace, while others, because of the aura diffused by Chingiz-Khan, were prevented from doing battle. Finally, on the next day

> When the shining sun spread its glory, and the black
> raven of the firmament shed its feathers,[13]

the Mongol troops being bold and fearless and the people o Samarqand irresolute in mind and counsel, the latter put the

[11] Another example of *tanāsub* (see above, p. 117, n. 7). The 'queen' (*farzīn*) does not appear in the translation but is found in the original in *farzīn-ban* 'King-checking', whilst the 'king' (*shāh*), also absent from the translation appears in *shāh-savārān* 'valiant knights': the 'horses' and 'elephants' are o course the 'knights' and 'bishops' and the 'rook' is contained in the phras *rukh na-tāftand* ('did not turn tail').

[12] I.e. the Sun.

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 497, l. 1049.

idea of war out of their heads and ceased to resist. T and the *shaikh-al-Islam* together with a number of wearer. turban hastened to approach Chingiz-Khan: they were and encouraged by the breakfast of his promises [94] ar his permission re-entered the town.

At the time of prayer they opened the gate of the *musa* closed the door of resistance. The Mongols then enter that day busied themselves with the destruction of the to its outworks. The inhabitants drew their feet beneath t of security, and the Mongols in no way molested them. the day had clad itself in the black garb of the heathen Kh they lit torches and continued their work until the wa been levelled with the streets and there was everywh passage for horse and foot.

On the third day, when the unkind, black-hearted ju the blue countenance held up the hard, brazen mirror be face, the greater part of the Mongols entered the town, men and women in groups of a hundred were driven c the open in the charge of Mongol soldiers; only the ca the *shaikh-al-Islam* together with such as had some con with them and stood under their protection were exempte leaving the town. More than fifty thousand people were c who remained under such protection. The Mongols then a proclamation to be made that if anyone sought safety corner of concealment his blood should be forfeit. The M and the [other] troops busied themselves with pillaging many people who had hidden in cellars and cavitie [discovered and] slain.

The mahouts brought their elephants to Chingiz-Kh demanded elephant fodder. He asked them what the ele lived on before they fell into captivity. They replied: grass of the plains.' Whereupon he ordered the elephant set free to forage for themselves. They were accordingly r and finally perished [of hunger].

When the king of the heavens had sunk beneath the bal earth, the Mongols departed from the town, and the garr the citadel, their hearts cut in two with fear and terror,

neither stand and resist nor turn and flee. Alp Khan,[14] however, made a show of valour and intrepidity: issuing forth from the citadel with a thousand desperate men he fought his way through the centre of the Mongol army and joined up with the Sultan. The next morning, when the heralds of the Lord of the planets rose up striking their swords, the Mongol army completely encircled the citadel, and discharging arrows and projectiles from either side they devastated the walls and outworks and laid waste the Juy-i-Arziz.[15] [95] During the space between the two prayers they took the gates and entered the citadel. A thousand brave and valiant men withdrew to the cathedral mosque and commenced a fierce battle using both naphtha and quarrels. The army of Chingiz-Khan likewise employed pots of naphtha; and the Friday mosque and all that were in it were burnt with the fire of this world and washed with the water of the Hereafter. Then all in the citadel were brought out into the open, where the Turks were separated from the Taziks and all divided into groups of ten and a hundred. They shaved the front of the Turks' heads in the Mongol fashion in order to tranquillize them and allay their fears; but when the sun had reached the west, the day of their life drew to its close, and that night every male Qanqli was drowned in the ocean of destruction and consumed by the fire of perdition. There were more than thirty thousand Qanqli and Turks, commanded by Barishmas[16] Khan, Taghai[17] Khan, Sarsigh[18] Khan and Ulagh[19] Khan, together with some twenty of the Sultan's chief emirs, whose names are recorded in the *yarligh* which Chingiz-Khan wrote to Rukn-ad-Din Kart;[20] in which *yarligh* full mention is made of

[14] I.e. Alp-Er Khan. See above, p. 118.

[15] On this famous 'leaden watercourse' see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 85, 89 and 413.

[16] BRŠMAS. *barïshmas* in Turkish means 'he that does not make peace'.

[17] TΓAY. *taghai*, i.e. 'maternal uncle'.

[18] SRSYΓ. *sarsïgh* means 'hard', 'rough'.

[19] AWLAΓ. For *ulagh* 'post horse' see above, p. 30 and n. 14.

[20] The progenitor of the Kart dynasty of Herat. See Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 252. An interesting reference to a written source: it would appear that Juvaini had examined this document in person.

all the leaders of armies and countries whom he crush destroyed.

When the town and the citadel equalled each other and desolation and many an emir, and soldier, and tow had taken a sip at the cup of destruction, on the next da the eagle which is the heavenly Jamshid[21] had raised i above the mountain-tops of the earth and the fiery coun of the sun was lit up upon the round tray of the sky, the who had escaped from beneath the sword were num thirty thousand of them were chosen for their craftmansh these Chingiz-Khan distributed amongst his sons and ki while the like number were selected from the youthful and to form a levy. With regard to the remainder, who o permission to return into the town, [96], as a thank because they had not shared the fate of the others nor a the degree of martyrdom but had remained in the rank living, he imposed [a ransom of] two hundred thousand on these suppliants and deputed the collection of this Siqat-al-Mulk and 'Amid Buzurg, who belonged to th officials of Samarqand. He then appointed several per be *shahna*s of the town and took some of the levies with Khorasan, while the others he sent to Khorazm with hi And afterwards, several times in succession levies were ra Samarqand and few only were exempted therefrom; a this reason complete ruin overran the country.

This event occurred in Rabi' I, 618.[22]

Where are there men of insight to gaze with the eye of ref and consideration upon the movements of deceitful Desti the trickery and cruelty of the vainly revolving wheel;

[21] A famous king of ancient Iran, overthrown and slain by the usurper (Dahāk). So Jamshīd is represented in the National Epic; by the ear historians he was sometimes identified with Solomon. He is in fact of Indo-Iranian mythology, the Yima of the Avesta and the Yama of th In the present passage of course the name is simply a personification of

[22] A mistake for 617, i.e. May–June, 1220. According to Juzjani (980) Samarqand fell on the 10th of Muharram, i.e. the 19th of March more consistent with Juvaini's subsequent statement (see below, pp. 128- after the capture of Samarqand Chingiz-Khan spent the *spring* of that y the town.

they realize that its zephyr is not equal to its simoom, nor its gain commensurate with its loss; that its wine lasts but a single hour, but the headache therefrom for ever; that its profit is but wind, and its treasure pain?

> O heart, lament not, for this world is only metaphorical;
> O soul, grieve not, for this abode is only transient.

[XIX]

OF THE FATE OF KHORAZM[1]

THIS is the name of the region; its original name was Jurjaniya, while the inhabitants call it Urganch. Before the vicissitudes of fortune it stood in the category of '*Goodly is the country, and gracious is the Lord!*'[2] It was the site of the throne of the Sultans of the world and the dwelling-place of the celebrities of mankind; its corners supported the shoulders of the great men of the age, and its environs were receptacles for the rareties of the time; its mansions were resplendent with every kind of lofty idea, and its regions and districts were so many rose-gardens through the presence of men [97] of quality, great *shaikhs* being assembled in one place with the Sultans of the age.

> *All that thou wishest is therein, spiritual and temporal*

—such was the state of that country.

> *Khorazm to me is the best of lands—may its rain-giving clouds never be blown away!*
> *Happy is that man's face which is greeted by the shining faces of its striplings!*[3]

When Chingiz-Khan had completed the conquest of Samarqand, all the countries of Transoxiana were subdued and his opponents crushed in the mills of calamity, while on the other

[1] Khorazm (Khwārazm) is applied here (as often) not to the region but to its capital, Gurganj or Urganch, which lay on the site of the present-day Kuhna-Urganch (Kunya-Urgench), i.e. 'Old Urganch'.

[2] Koran, xxxiv, 14.

[3] Attributed by Yaqut, under Khorazm, to Muhammad b. 'Unain ad-Dimishqi. (M.Q.)

side the districts of Jand and Barjligh-Kent were secure that Khorazm was left in the middle like a tent whose have been cut. Since he wished to pursue the Sultan in and to purge the countries of Khorasan of his adversar dispatched his elder sons, Chaghatai and Ögetei, Khorazm together with an army as endless as the hap of Time and such that the mountains and deserts were with its numbers. He commanded Tushi also to send from Jand as a reinforcement.[4] The princes proceeded of Bokhara, sending on ahead as vanguard an army moved like evil destiny and flew like lightning.

At that time Khorazm was deserted by [both] the S but Khumar Tegin, one of the leaders of the army and a ki of Terken Khatun, was still present; and certain of th emirs had likewise remained behind, viz. Moghol Hajil Buqa Pahlavan, the *sipahsalar* 'Ali Durughini[6] and a n of others of the same sort, to enumerate whose name prolixity without utility. [98] Besides these there were sc of the notables of the town and the learned of the age as be neither counted nor computed; while the number inhabitants exceeded that of grains of sand or pebbles. since in all that great multitude and assembly of manki leader had been appointed to whom they might refer up occurrence of untoward events and for the administrat affairs of state and the business of the commonweal, a whose agency they might resist the violence of Fate; Kh by reason of his relationship to the royal house, was wi voice elected Sultan and made a *Nauruz* king.[7]

And they were heedless of the disorder and unrest pre

[4] It would appear from Juvaini's narrative that, contrary to the testir all the other authorities, both Moslem and Far Eastern, Jöchi did not t in person in the siege of Gurganj.

[5] See below, p. 158, n. 17.

[6] In Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 94) he is called Kūh-i-Durūghān ('Mou Lies') 'à cause de l'énormité de ses mensonges'.

[7] I.e. king for a day. It would appear that the ceremonies of the great festival of *Naurūz*, or New Year's Day, at the vernal equinox, must at c have included the election of a kind of 'May King'.

in the world and of Fate's assault and battery of her creatures, great and small; until suddenly they beheld a small troop of horsemen like a puff of smoke, who arrived before the gates of the town and busied themselves with driving off cattle. Hereat some short-sighted persons became exultant thinking that they had come in so small a party out of bravado and that they had ventured on such insolence by way of sport. They did not realize that this would be followed by calamities, that after the mountain-top of these calamities would come other mountain-tops, and thereafter torments. A whole world of people, both horse and foot, rushed thoughtlessly out of the gates upon that small troop. The Mongols, like wild game, now started, now cast a glance behind them and ran. Finally when they came to the Bagh-i-Khurram, which lies a parasang distant from the town, they caused Tartar horsemen and men of might and dread and prowess and war to spring forth from the ambush of the wall. They cut off the road before and behind and fell briskly upon them like wolves upon a flock without a shepherd. They dispatched flying arrows against that people and wielding sword and lance they drove them before them: by nightfall they had felled to the dust nearly a hundred thousand souls of fighting men. And in the same fever and excitement, with shouts and cries they cast themselves after them into the city by the Qabilan Gate [99] and advanced like fire to a place called Tanura.

As the sun began to set the strange army withdrew by way of caution; but on the next day when the Turkish swordsman raised his head from the ambush of the horizon, the fearless swordsmen and intrepid Turks spurred on their mounts and set their faces towards the town. A certain Faridun Ghuri, who was one of the Sultan's chief generals, awaited them at the gate with five hundred men and preparing to resist deprived those accursed ones (? *rujūm*) of the power to attack. And to the end of that day they continued to struggle and fight.

Chaghatai and Ögetei then arrived with an army like a flood in its onrush and like blasts of wind in the succession of its ranks. They made a promenade around the town and sent ambassadors to call on the inhabitants to submit and surrender.

The whole army then encompassed the town as the circle encompasses the centre and encamped around it in the guise of Fate. They busied themselves with the preparation of instruments of war such as wood, mangonels and missiles therefor. And since there were no stones in the neighbourhood of Khorazm they manufactured these missiles from the wood of mulberry trees. As is their custom, they daily plied the inhabitants of the town with promises and threats, inducements and menaces; and occasionally they discharged a few arrows at one another.

Finally, when the preparations for battle had been completed and the necessary instruments finished, when, moreover, the reinforcements had arrived from Jand etc., they at once set their faces towards war and combat from every side of the town, and raising a yell like thunder and lightning they rained down missiles and arrows like hailstones. They commanded rubbish to be collected and stuffed into the moat; and then the levies were moved forward in a circle *(bi-jirg)* to demolish the foot of the outworks and cast earth into the eyes of the heavens.

When the counterfeit Sultan and leader of the army, Khumar, drunk [8] with the wine of adversity, [100] *(God Almighty hath said: 'As thou livest, O Mohammed, they were bewildered in the drunkenness of their lust')* [9] beheld the slaughter which they wrought, for fear of abasement his heart was cut in two, and the signs of the Tartar army's victory agreed with his secret surmise; cunning was removed from his nature, and with the appearance of Destiny the face of counsel and deliberation was hidden from him. He descended from the gate, and on this account even greater confusion and disorder prevailed among the people.

The Tartar army planted a standard on the top of the wall, and warriors climbed up and caused the earth to ring with their shouts, cries, yells and uproar. The inhabitants opposed them in all the streets and quarters of the town: in every lane they engaged in battle and in every cul-de-sac they resisted stoutly.

[8] There is a word-play on Khumar's name, which is actually Turkish but seems to be derived from the same Arabic root as *khamr* 'wine': in fact, *khumār* in Arabic means 'drunken headache'.

[9] Koran, xv, 72.

The Mongols meanwhile were setting fire to their houses and quarters with pots of naphtha and sewing the people to one another with arrows and mangonels. And when the cloak of the sun's light was being wrapped in the tyranny of evening darkness, they began to return to their encampment. In the morning the people of the town for a while applied themselves to battle in the same manner and bared the claw of conflict with sword, arrow and banner. By now the greater part of the town was destroyed; the houses with their goods and treasures were but mounds of earth; and the Mongols despaired of benefiting from the stores of their wealth. They therefore agreed among themselves to abandon the use of fire and rather to withhold from the people the water of the Oxus, across which a bridge had been built inside the town. Three thousand men from the Mongol army put themselves in readiness and struck at the centre of the bridge; but the inhabitants entrapped them there, so that not one was able to return.

On this account the townspeople became more energetic in their action and more stubborn in their resistance. On the outside also, the weapons of war became more furious, the sea of battle more raging and the winds of confusion more tumultuous, on earth and in the heavens. Quarter by quarter, house by house, the Mongols took the town, destroying the buildings and slaughtering the inhabitants, until finally the whole town was in their hands. Then they drove the people out into the open; those that were artisans or craftsmen, of whom there were more than a hundred thousand, were separated from the rest; [101] the children and the young women were reduced to slavery and borne off into captivity; and the men that remained were divided among the army, and to each fighting man fell the execution of twenty-four persons. *God Almighty hath said: 'So we made them a tale, and scattered them with an utter scattering. Truly, herein are signs to everyone that is patient, grateful.'* [10] The army then busied themselves with plunder and rapine and destroyed what remained of the quarters and houses.

Khorazm, which was the centre of battling men and the

[10] *Ibid.*, xxxiv, 18.

venue of banqueting women, on whose threshold Fate laid her head and which the phoenix of Fortune made its nest, became the abode of the jackal and the haunt of owl and kite; pleasure was far removed from its houses and its castles were reduced to desolation; so withered were its gardens that one would think that the words '*We changed them their gardens into two gardens*'[11] had been revealed concerning their condition. Upon its parks and pleasances the pen of '*all that is transient departeth*' has written these verses:

How many horsemen have dismounted about us, mixing wine
with limpid water;
Then in the middle of the morning Fate snatched them away—
for such is Fate, time and again.[12]

To be brief, when the Mongols had ended the battle of Khorazm and had done with leading captive, plundering, slaughter and bloodshed, such of the inhabitants as were artisans were divided up and sent to the countries of the East. To-day there are many places in those parts that are cultivated and peopled by the inhabitants of Khorazm.

The princes Chaghatai and Ögetei returned by way of Kalif,[13] which they joined with Khorazm in two days.

As for the fighting and killing, in spite of the proverb '*Do as was done before*' I have heard of such a quantity of slain that I did not believe the report and so have not recorded it. '*O God, preserve us from all the ills of this world and the torments of the world to come.*'

[XX]

OF THE DEPARTURE OF CHINGIZ-KHAN TO NAKHSHAB[1] AND TIRMIZ[2]

WHEN Samarqand had been taken and he had dispatched his sons Chaghatai and Ögetei against Khorazm, [102] he passed

[11] Koran, xxxiv, 15. *Two gardens*', to complete the quotation, '*of bitter fruit and tamarisk and some few jujube trees.*'

[12] Verses by 'Adi b. Zaid al-'Ibadi, quoted in a long story in the *Kitab-al Aghan*.

[13] Reading KALYF with Barthold, *Turkestan*, 437, n. 3, for the KASF of the text. On Kalif, a town on the Oxus (which still exists), see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 80.

ɒring of that year beside Samarqand and proceeded from :e to the meadows of Nakhshab.

hen the summer had come to an end and the horses were ed and the soldiers rested, he set out for Tirmiz. Upon ng there he sent forward messengers to call upon the people :render and submit, and to destroy the fortress and citadel. :he inhabitants, encouraged by the strength of the fortress, ɔf whose walls were raised up in the middle of the Oxus, :endered proud by the multitude of their troops, gear and ›ment, would not accept submission but sallied forth to do .. Mangonels were set up on either side, and they rested :r day nor night from strife and warfare until upon the ɿth day the Mongols took the place by storm. All the .e, both men and women, were driven out on to the plain ɟivided proportionately among the soldiers in accordance their usual custom; then they were all slain, none being d.

hen the Mongols had finished the slaughter they caught of a woman who said to them: 'Spare my life and I will you a great pearl which I have.' But when they sought 'earl she said: 'I have swallowed it.' Whereupon they d open her belly and found several pearls. On this account giz-Khan commanded that they should rip open the bellies . the slain.

hen they had done with looting and slaying he departed : region of Kangurt [3] and Shuman,[4] where he passed the :r. That region also he purged with slaying, and attacking, ;apping, and burning; and sent armies into the whole of khshan and all that country, and conquered and subjugated

›w Karshi in Uzbekistan.

ıe ruins of the medieval city lie near the modern town of the same name :z) on the right bank of the Oxus, which here forms the boundary between istan and Afghanistan.

ɴKRT. Kangurt lies to the west of Baljuan on the old Hisar-Kulab ı Tajikistan. (V.M.)

ading ŠMAN for the SMAN of the text. I take this to be identical he town and district of Shūmān. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 353, suggests that vn may have stood on the site of the later Dushambe, now Stalinabad, ›ital of Tajikistan.

the peoples, some by kindness, but most by severity; so that in all that region there was left no trace of his opponents. And when the season of winter drew to a close he made ready to cross the river.

All this occurred in the year 617/1220–21.

[XXI]

[103] OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S CROSSING OF THE RIVER AT TIRMIZ AND THE TAKING OF BALKH

BALKH, by reason of the multitude of its produce and its manifold kinds of revenue, was superior to other regions; its territory was more spacious than that of other countries; and in former time it was in the Eastern lands as Mecca in the West. As Firdausi says:

> He departed unto fair Balkh to that *nau-bahar* which
> at that time the worshippers of God
> Held in as much honour as the Arabs now hold Mecca.[1]

Chingiz-Khan crossed the river and advanced on Balkh. The chief men of the town came forward professing submission and servitude and bearing all manner of *tuzghu* and presents. Whereupon, because a census had to be taken, he gave orders that all the people of Balkh should be brought on to the plain and numbered. But as Jalal-ad-Din was still casting confusion and disorder into those regions and riding his horse on to the field of rebellion and contumacy, the Mongols could place no confidence in their professions of submission, especially in the case of Khorasan. And since the sea of the annihilation of lands and peoples was raging and the tempest of calamity had not come to an end, there was no possible wile whereby they might ward off disaster; and since Destiny held them captive,

[1] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1496, ll. 15–16. By the *nau-bahār* or 'new *vihāra*' is meant the great Buddhist temple near Balkh, on which see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 77.

surrender availed them not, neither could they rely on submission and abasement; [104] while to rebel was a deadly poison and an irremediable pain. Therefore Chingiz-Khan commanded that the population of Balkh, small and great, few and many, both men and women, should be driven out on to the plain and divided up according to the usual custom into hundreds and thousands to be put to the sword; and that not a trace should be left of fresh or dry. For a long time the wild beasts feasted on their flesh, and lions consorted without contention with wolves, and vultures ate without quarrelling from the same table with eagles.

Eat and rend, O hyaena, and rejoice in the flesh of a
man who had no one to help him this day.[2]

And they cast fire into the garden of the city and devoted their whole attention to the destruction of the outworks and walls, and mansions and palaces. *God Almighty hath said: 'There is no city which we will not destroy before the day of Resurrection or chastise it with a grievous chastisement. This is written in the Book.'*[3]

When Chingiz-Khan returned from Peshawar and arrived at Balkh, he found a number of fugitives who had remained hidden in nooks and crannies and come out again [after the Mongols' departure]. He commanded them all to be killed and fulfilled upon them the verse, '*Twice will we chastise them.*'[4] And wherever a wall was left standing, the Mongols pulled it down and for a second time wiped out all traces of culture from that region.

And their mansions shall weep for them, which were once
accustomed to glory.
We began by gazing on them with admiration and ended by
gazing on them in astonishment.[5]

After Chingiz-Khan had thus disposed of Balkh, he dispatched his son Toli with a large army to conquer the countries

[2] From Nabigha Ja'di. (M.Q.) [3] Koran, xvii, 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, ix, 102.

[5] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* to Abu-Bakr 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Aski, who flourished under the later Samanids. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 95.

of Khorasan, whilst he himself turned against Talaqan. citadel of that place was called Nusrat-Kuh and apart fr own strength was crammed full of warriors prepared to glorious name. Though he dispatched messengers and and called on them to tender submission, they would n in but were inclined for nothing but strife and battle. Mongols drew a circle about the citadel [105] and set catapults in motion; they bestirred themselves untiringly r the garrison rest from their exertions: both sides fought and inflicted many wounds on their opponents. The g of Talaqan continued to resist in this manner until afte had subjugated Khorasan and returned from thence wit forces; when the size of the Mongol army was greatly in and they took Talaqan by storm, leaving no living c therein and destroying fortress and citadel, walls, palac houses.

Of a sudden there came tidings that Jalal-ad-Din had a great victory and vanquished Tekechük [7] and the army his command. Chingiz-Khan hastened to meet him. road lay through Gurzivan,[8] and on account of the res offered by the inhabitants of that place he tarried there a until he took it and forced down the throats of its peop same draught of slaughter, rapine and destruction which like peoples had tasted.

Starting from thence the Mongols came to Bamiya inhabitants of which place issued forth in hostility and resi and on both sides hands were laid to arrows and catapults. denly, by the thumb of Fate, who was the destroyer of a people, a quarrel, which gave no respite, was discharged the town and hit a son of Chaghatai,[9] the favourite gran

[6] See above, p. 118, n. 9.

[7] TKJWK. Spelt also TKJK (I, 106, and II, 136) and TKAJK (I It is a Turkish word and means 'little he-goat'. See Houtsma, *Glo* where it is spelt TKAJWK.

[8] Barthold, *op. cit.*, 443, n. 4, suggests that the place in question was p the fortress of Rang in Gurzivān (Raverty, 1003). There is still a di Afghanistan called Durzab and Gurziwan.

[9] He is called MATYKAN (I, 228; i, 273), i.e. apparently Metiken.

of Chingiz-Khan. The Mongols made the greater haste t capture the town, and when it was taken Chingiz-Khan ga orders that every living creature, from mankind down to th brute beasts, should be killed; that no prisoner should be taken that not even the child in its mother's womb should be sparec and that henceforth no living creature should dwell therein. H gave it the name of Ma'u-Baligh, which means in Persian *B Town*.[10] And to this very day no living creature has taken u abode therein.

This event fell out in the year 618/1221–22.

[XXII]

[106] OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S TURNING TO DO BATTLE WITH THE SULTAN

FROM Talaqan Chingiz-Khan dispatched Tekechük and group of commanders to put an end to Jalal-ad-Din. But tl Sultan had been strengthened by the advent of Ighraq[1] an other warriors from every side; and he utterly defeated tl army which had been detailed to destroy him, because of tl paucity of its numbers and the lack of reinforcements. Whe tidings of this defeat were brought to Chingiz-Khan, he co sidered day as night, and in his haste reckoned night as da and travelled two stages at a time, so that it was impossib to cook food.

When he reached Ghazna he received tidings that Jalal-a Din had departed from thence a fortnight since with the obje of crossing the Indus. He appointed Mama Yalavach to

ad-Din (Blochet, 161) calls him MWATWKAN (? Mö'etüken). The nan which does not occur in the Mongol and Chinese sources, is discussed by Pelli *Horde d'Or*, 86–7.

[10] See above, p. 45, n. 5.

[1] Saif-ad-Din Ighraq was a Khalaj Turk, the leader of a large force of Kha and Turcomans gathered together at Peshawar. (See below, ii, 462.) He h joined forces with Jalal-ad-Din and taken part in the Battle of Parvan, whi is here alluded to. For a fuller account of the battle see below, ii, 406–7. On t Khalaj, the ancestors alike of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi and the Ghilzai Afgha of Qandahar, see Minorsky, *The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj*, 426–34.

basqaq of Ghazna, whilst he himself pursued Jalal-ad-Din like the wind which drives the clouds, until he came up with him on the banks of the Indus.[2] The Mongol army cut off the Sultan's front and rear and encompassed him on every side; they stood behind one another in several rings in the shape of a bow and made the Indus like a bowstring. Chingiz-Khan commanded his men to exceed themselves in battle and to endeavour to take the Sultan alive. Meanwhile Chaghatai and Ögetei also had arrived from Khorazm. The Sultan, for his part, seeing that the day of action was arrived and the time of battle, set his face to combat with the few men that were still left to him. He hastened from right to left and from the left charged upon the Mongol centre. He attacked again and again, but the Mongol armies advanced little by little leaving him less space to manoeuvre and less room to do battle; but still he continued to fight like an angry lion.

> [107] Whithersoever he spurred on his charger, he mingled dust with blood.[3]

Since Chingiz-Khan had ordered them to take him prisoner, the army were sparing with their lances and arrows wishing to execute Chingiz-Khan's command. But Jalal-ad-Din was too quick for them and withdrew. He was brought a fresh horse, and mounting it he attacked them again and returned from the charge at the gallop.

> Like the lightning he struck upon the water and like the wind he departed.

When the Mongols saw him cast himself in the river they were about to plunge in after him. But Chingiz-Khan prevented them. From excess of astonishment he put his hand to his mouth and kept saying to his sons, 'Such a son must a father have.'

> When Isfandiyar gazed behind him, he descried him on the dry land on the far side of the stream.

[2] On the site of the Battle of the Indus see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 445–6. It was probably fought at Dinkot, near the modern Kalabagh.

[3] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1556, l. 1074.

He said: 'Call not this being a man—he is a raging
elephant endued with pomp and splendour.'
So he spoke and gazed thitherwards where Rustam went seeking
his way.[4]

To be brief, all of Jalal-ad-Din's army that were not drowned in the river were slain by the sword. His wives and children were brought before Chingiz-Khan, and as for those that were male, down to very sucklings, the breast of death was put to the mouth of their lives and they were given to nurse to Ibn-Daya,[5] that is, they were thrown to the carrion crows.

It is hard for us that Ibn-Daya continues to examine
that to which the tear-ducts are joined.

Since the riches and wealth which the Sultan had with him consisted chiefly of gold and silver coin he had given orders that day for all of it to be cast in the river. The Mongols sent in divers to bring up what they could out of the water.

This event, which was one of the wonders of Destiny, fell out in Rajab of the year 618 [August—September, 1221].[6] [108] And there is a proverb which says, '*Live in Rajab and thou shalt see wonders.*'

Chingiz-Khan proceeded along the banks of the river [7] but sent Ögetei back to Ghazna, the people of which made voluntary submission. Ögetei ordered them all to be led out into the open country, where such as were artisans were set on one side while the rest of their number were put to death and the town too was destroyed. He left Qutuqu [8] Noyan in charge of the captives

[4] For the first two lines see *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1693, ll. 3575–6. The third line is not in Vullers.

[5] I.e. the Crow. The word-play with *dāya* 'nurse' is lost in the translation.

[6] According to Nasawi on Wednesday the 24th November. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 445.

[7] Upstream according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 529), whilst he sent Ögedei downstream.

[8] QTQW. This was Shigi-Qutuqu, the Mongol commander at Parvan. He had been discovered as a young child in the deserted encampment of the Tatar after the defeat of that people by Chingiz-Khan and Ong-Khan as allies of the Chin. (*Secret History*, § 135.) He was adopted by Chingiz-Khan's

and craftsmen, who were to pass the winter in that place, whilst he himself returned by way of the Garmsir of Herat.[9]

Chingiz-Khan, meanwhile, had arrived at Karman and Sanquran.[10] Here he received tidings that Jalal-ad-Din had recrossed the Indus and buried his dead. He left Chaghatai in Karman, and Chaghatai not finding him [where he expected] still continued the pursuit. During that winter he took up quarters in the neighbourhood of Buya Katur, which is a town of Ashtaqar.[11] The ruler of that place, Salar Ahmad,[12] bound the girdle of submission about his loins and did all in his power to provide the army with victuals.

mother, Hö'elün, (*ibid.*) or by his wife Börte according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 107, Smirnova, 174). At the great *quriltai* at the sources of the Onon in 1206 he was given the function of grand judge. See the *Secret History*, § 203, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 183.

[9] *Garmsir*[-*i*-]*Harāt*. The text should probably be emended to read *Garmsīr va Harāt* 'the Garmsir *and* Herat'. Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) says simply that Ögedei returned 'by way of the Garmsir' (as does also D), and Smirnova, *loc. cit.*, n. 2, takes Garmsir to be the region of that name along the middle course of the Helmand still known as Garmsel. In fact the Mongols had already followed this route on a previous occasion. From Talaqan Chingiz-Khan had sent a Mongol army 'by way of the Garmsir' to attack Amin Malik at Ghazna. Amin Malik drove this force back as far as Bust (the modern Qal'a-yi-Bist) and Teginabad (perhaps Qandahar), i.e. to this very region; and the Mongols then retreated in the direction of Herat and Khorasan. See below, *ii*, 461–2. According to Rashid-ad-Din (*loc. cit.*, cf. also the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*, *loc. cit.*, and Bretschneider, I, 293) Ögedei, after destroying Ghazna, sought his father's permission to advance against Sistan. However, because of the heat, Chingiz-Khan ordered him to turn back and said that he would send other forces instead. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1047) Ögedei fixed his winter quarters at Pul-i-Āhangarān, i.e. the modern Qal'a-yi-Āhangarān on the upper Herirud.

[10] Reading SNQWRAN for the SYQWRAN of the text. The modern Kurram Agency. Raverty (498–9n) identifies Sanquran with the *dara* (valley) of the Shalūzān (Shalūzān in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, which has Kirmān for the Karmān of Raverty). Shalūzān and Karmān, besides being the names of two tributaries of the Kurram, are also the names of two villages in the wide open valley of the Upper Kurram.

[11] Neither Būya Katūr (BWYH KTWR) nor Ashtaqār (AŠTQAR), has been identified. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1043–5) Chingiz-Khan advanced from the Indus to besiege Īghraq (cf. below, p. 137) in a fortress which Raverty calls Gībarī, captured it and 'other forts of the Koh-pāyah [hill-skirts]' and then for three months encamped 'in the Gībarī territory and the Koh-pāyah'. Raverty, 1043, n. 1., locates the fortress of Gībarī in Bajaur in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency. On the other hand it is also possible to read Gīrī instead

On account of the insalubrity of the climate the greater part of the soldiers fell sick and the strength of the army declined. There were many prisoners with them in that place, and they had also captured Indian slaves in that region, [109] so that in each house there were ten to twenty prisoners. All of these were employed in preparing food by scouring rice, etc., and the climate agreed with their constitution. Chingiz-Khan gave orders that every slave in every house should scour four hundred maunds of rice. They accomplished this task with great speed within the space of one week; upon which Chingiz-Khan commanded that all the prisoners in the army should be killed. The unhappy wretches had no idea of their fate; one night, just before dawn, not a trace was left of the prisoners and the Indians.[13]

All the neighbouring peoples sent envoys and tendered their submission. Chingiz-Khan dispatched an ambassador to Rana[14] also; who at first accepted submission but did not remain constant. Chingiz-Khan sent an army which seized and slew him. He also sent an army to beleaguer Ighraq in the stronghold which he had fortified.

When the army had recovered its health Chingiz-Khan conceived the idea of returning home by a route through India to the land of the Tangut.[15] He advanced several stages, but as

of Gībarī and identify it with the fortress in which Mas'ud the Ghaznavid (1030–40) was imprisoned and put to death and which was situated close to the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. See Raverty, *loc. cit.*, also 1074*n*.

[12] Sālār Aḥmad is also unidentified. See Raverty, 1074n.

[13] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 454, is inclined to discredit the details of this story (which, as he points out, was afterwards related of Tamerlane) especially as Juzjani, 'who was not in the habit of concealing the cruel actions of the Mongols, says not a word of this action, of which he could not have been ignorant'.

[14] Juvaini has taken the North Indian title *rānā* as a proper name. This was probably the successor of Nasawi's Rāna *Shatra (ZANH ŠTRH in Houdas' text and Zâna-Chatra in his translation, 142), 'le seigneur du Djebel El-Djoudi', slain in battle by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din (*ibid.*, 143). Juzjani (Raverty, 815) speaks of a later Rana of the 'Jud hills' (i.e. the Salt Range) against whom an expedition was sent in 644/1246–7 to punish him for having acted as guide to the Mongols in the previous year.

[15] By way of Bengal, Assam and the Himalayas according to Juzjani (Raverty, 1046 and 1081).

there was no road, he turned back,[16] and came to Peshawar,[17] and returned by the road by which he had come.

[XXIII]

OF THE RETURN OF CHINGIZ-KHAN

WHEN the tidings of the coming of spring had reached every quarter of the inhabitable world, verdure leapt up like the hearts of the sorrowful, and at the dawning of day nightingales mourned and lamented upon the branches of the trees in unison with turtles and ring doves; in memory of the striplings who every year in gardens and pleasances had poured out wine and driven away care upon the petals of flowers and blossoms, the clouds rained tears from their eyes and said, 'It is rain'; [110] the rosebud, filled with longing for wanton glances, from sadness filled its cup with blood and made believe that it was a smile; the rose, filled with regret for the violet-cheeked rose-faced ones, tore its garment and said, 'I have bloomed'; the lily, in the garb of the sorrowful, donned blue and claimed that it was heaven-coloured; the trim cypress, in recollection of the graceful cypress-shaped ones, bent its back to the heavy sigh which it heaved at every dawn and called this 'stateliness'; in harmony with the cypress the willow from grief laid its head upon the

[16] Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) is more explicit. Rugged mountains, dense forests, an unhealthy climate and bad drinking water—these and the report that the Tangut had risen in revolt were the reasons for his turning back. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1045–6 and 1081–4) he had from his encampment in the Gibarī (or Girī) area dispatched envoys to Il-Tutmïsh in Delhi seeking permission to return through India; and he was still in that encampment, burning and examining the shoulder-blades of sheep (for an account of this form of divination see Rockhill, 187–8), when the news arrived of the Tangut's rebellion. According to the *Yüan shih* he had actually penetrated into Eastern India when the appearance of a fabulous animal, a kind of unicorn, caused him to retrace his steps. See Krause, 39, Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 531, Bretschneider, I, 289, d'Ohsson, I, 318, n. 1.

[17] The text has here Farshāvar and elsewhere Parshāvar, at that time the normal spelling of the name (the older Purushapura, 'the town of Purusha'). The form Pēshāvar (our Peshawar) was introduced by the Mogul Emperor Akbar.

dark earth and from anguish at its fate heaped dust upon its head, saying, 'I am the *farrash* of the meadow'; the wine bottle made a gurgle in its throat; and the lute and the rebeck were embraced with melody.

> Look, at the dawn of day, that thou mayst hear the
> Pahlavi song of the nightingale:
> It laments the death of Isfandiyar, of whom there is no
> memorial but lamentation.
>
> None has opened his lips in mirthful laughter this year;
> the world has not rested from strife for one moment
> this year.
> Who has shown me a face tinged with rose-blood this year?
> In such times as these what time has there been for
> roses this year?

Chingiz-Khan decided to return from Peshawar to his original home; and the reason for his haste to return was that the Khitayans and the Tangut, profiting by his absence, had grown restive and wavered between submission and insurrection.

By way of the mountains of Bamiyan he rejoined his heavy baggage which he had left in the region of Baghlan.[1] He passed the summer in that pasture land and when the season of autumn was come he again took to the road and crossed the Oxus.

After crossing the river he sent back Törbei Toqshin[2] in pursuit of the Sultan.

That winter he abode in the region of Samarqand, whence he sent a messenger to summon his eldest son Tushi, bidding him set out from the Plain of the Qifchaq[3] [111] driving the game in front of him (which for the most part was wild asses).

[1] Perhaps Baghlān and not Parvān is meant by the 'plain of Baruan' of the *Secret History* (§§ 257 and 258), the river Pa-lu-wan of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 38, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 531) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 529) and 'the plain which the *Mongols* call Parvan' of Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225).

[2] See below, Chapter XXIV.

[3] *Dasht-i-Qifchāq* for the more usual *Dasht-i-Qipchāq*, the name given to the vast steppes stretching from the Dniester to the Irtish: it was afterwards applied to the territory of the Golden Horde.

Chaghatai and Ögetei, for their part, went to Qara-Köl[4] to amuse themselves with the hunting of the swan; every week, as a sample of their hunting, they would send Chingiz-Khan fifty camel-loads of swans.

Finally, when no game was left, and the winter had drawn to its close, and the world was become a rosebud with the signs of spring, and the earth had donned a robe of flowers and blossoms; Chingiz-Khan determined to depart and remove; the princes gathered around their father by the river of Fanakat,[5] and held a *quriltai*, after which they proceeded from thence until they came to Qulan-Bashi,[6] where Tushi came up from the other side and joined his father.

Among the presents which he brought were a thousand grey horses. In accordance with his father's command he had driven herds of wild asses from the Plain of the Qifchaq like so many sheep. It was said that the hoofs of the wild asses had become worn out on the journey and that they had been shod with horseshoes. When they came to a place called Utuqa,[7] Chingiz-Khan, his sons and the soldiers mounted horse to disport themselves, and the wild asses were driven before them. They gave chase, but from excess of weariness the wild asses had become such that they could be taken by hand. When they had grown tired of the chase and none but lean animals remained, each branded those he had taken with his own brand and let them go free.

To be brief, they passed the summer in Qulan-Bashi; and hither were brought a number of Uighur nobles whom they executed for a crime they had committed. Then Chingiz-Khan

[4] Now the name of a town (Karakul) in Uzbekistan, Qara-Köl, lit. 'the Black Lake', was originally the name of the swampy region in which the Zarafshan finally loses itself. According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 118, 'there was a vast quantity of fish and birds here'.

[5] See above, p. 64, n. 8.

[6] Reading QLAN BAŠY for the QLAN TAŠY of the text. The pass between the basins of the Arïs and the Talas on the way from Chimkent to Aulie Ata (Jambul), well known for its cold climate. See Prince Masalsky, *Turkestanskii krai*, 757. (V.M.) Qulan-Bashï means 'Wild Ass's Head'.

[7] AWTWQA. Unidentified.

departed from thence and in the springtime arrived at his own *ordu*.

[112] [XXIV]

OF THE EXPEDITION OF TÖRBEI TOQSHIN IN SEARCH OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN [1]

WHEN Chaghatai returned without having found the Sultan, Chingiz-Khan deputed Törbei Toqshin, together with two *tümen* of Mongol troops, to cross the Indus in his pursuit.

Törbei Toqshin advanced to the region of *Nandana,[2] a province of India which had previously been held by Qamar-ad-Din Karmani [3] but of which one of the Sultan's commanders had now made himself master.

Törbei Toqshin took the fortress of *Nandana [2] and wrought

[1] This chapter has already appeared in print in my article, *Iru and Maru in the Secret History of the Mongols*. As to the name Törbei Toqshin the text has everywhere TRBAY TQŠY or TWRBAY TQŠY but in II, 144, E and G have TWQŠYN for the second element. It is the Turkish form of Dörbei Doqshin, 'Dörbei the Brutal', the name of a Dörbet commander who had distinguished himself in an expedition against the forest people of the Qori-Tumat in 1217. See the *Secret History*, § 240, and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 178 and 255–6); also the above-mentioned article, 405–6 and 410.

[2] The text has in both cases BYH, but for the name of the fortress B has NNDH and J, i.e. the Bodleian MS. Fraser 154 (I am indebted to Professor A. F. L. Beeston, formerly Keeper of Oriental Books, and to the Printer to the University of Oxford for a photograph of the passage) YNDH, both of which forms must be regarded as corruptions of an original NNDNH (i.e. Nandana), which actually occurs in Juzjani (Raverty, 534). In the case of the district also BYH is doubtless to be regarded as a corruption of NNDNH, as is also the first element of Nasawi's DBDBH WSAQWN (text, 86, it appears in Houdas' translation, 144, as Debdeba-Ousâqoun). It was here that Qubacha heard the news of Jalal-ad-Din's battle with the Rana of the Jud hills. On Nandana see the long footnote in Raverty (534–9), also the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 349, where it is described as a 'place of historical interest in the Pind Dādan Khān *tahsil* of Jhelum District, Punjab, situated 32° 43′ N. and 73° 17′ E., 14 miles west of Chao Saidān Shāh, in a remarkable dip in the outer Salt Range. Of the fort, two bastions of large, well-cut sandstone blocks still remain.'

[3] Smirnova, 224, n. 3, identifies Qamar-ad-Din Karmānī with Qamar-ad-Din Tamar Khan Qīrān, the future governor of Bengal (1244–6). However, according to Juzjani (Raverty, 743) this latter person, a Qipchaq Turk purchased

great slaughter. Then he turned against Multan. There were no stones in Multan, so he ordered levies to be driven from thence to build rafts of wood: these were loaded with catapult missiles and launched upon the river. When he arrived before Multan the mangonels were set in motion; a large part of the wall was demolished and the town was on the point of surrendering. However, the great heat of the climate prevented his remaining longer; so having plundered and massacred throughout the province of Multan and Lahore he returned from thence and recrossed the Indus; and arriving in Ghazna followed in the wake of Chingiz-Khan.[4]

[XXV]

OF THE EXPEDITION OF YEME[1] AND SÜBETEI IN PURSUIT OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD

WHEN Chingiz-Khan arrived before Samarqand and threw a ring around the city he received intelligence [113] that the Sultan

by Il-Tutmish, held no fief till the reign of Raziya (1236–9), when he became feudatory of Kanauj. In fact the Qamar-ad-Din in question is none other than Qubacha, the ruler of Sind and the former slave of the Ghurid Sultan Shihab-ad-Din. According to Nasawi (see above, n. 2) he was in the Nandana area at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's battle with the Rana of the Jud hills. See also below, ii, 414–16. I follow Raverty (536*n*) in calling him Karmānī, i.e. of Karmān, the present-day Kurram Agency, rather than Kirmānī, i.e. of Kerman; and in fact he may well have had some connection with Karmān, which his father-in-law Yulduz held as a fief. See Raverty, 498–500.

[4] For a somewhat different version of this expedition see below, ii, 413. According to the *Secret History* (§§ 257 and 264), the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 529) and the *Yüan shih* (*ibid.*, 531, Krause, 38) it was led not by Dörbei but by Bala of the Jalayir; according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 224) it was led by Dörbei and Bala jointly.

[1] YMH. This is apparently the Turkish form of the name Jebe; it is found in Nasawi and Juzjani also. The famous general belonged to the Besüt, who were vassals of the Tayichi'ut, and his name, according to the *Secret History* (§ 147), was originally Jirqo'adai. He had fought under Jamuqa at the Battle of Köyiten (1201), in the course of which an arrow, discharged from his bow, had wounded Chingiz-Khan's horse, 'a chestnut with a white muzzle'. After the final defeat of the Tayichi'ut Jirqo'adai presented himself before the

had crossed the river at Tirmiz and had dispersed the greater part of his army and the chiefs of his household troops throughout the villages and countryside; that few men were left with him; and that he had crossed the river in a state of terror and bewilderment.

He exclaimed: 'It is necessary to make an end of him and be well rid of him before men gather around him and nobles join him from every side.'

So he chose from the chief of his commanders Yeme and Sübetei to pursue the Sultan; and from the troops that were with him he selected proportionately [2] thirty thousand men, each of whom was to a thousand men of the Sultan's army as a wolf to a flock of sheep or a red-hot coal to a dry cane-brake.

Conqueror. Questioned about the shot he freely admitted his responsibility but promised, if his life was spared, to serve his new master faithfully and well. Chingiz-Khan was pleased with his frankness, gave him the name of Jebe, which means 'weapon' or perhaps 'arrow' (see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes,* 155–6), to commemorate his action and admitted him amongst his followers. Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 194), gives a somewhat different version of his first entry into Chingiz-Khan's service. After the defeat of his people Jebe had gone into hiding. He is discovered by Chingiz-Khan in the course of a *battue.* Borji, the early friend and close companion of the Conqueror (the Bo'orchu of the *Secret History*) gives chase on his leader's horse (the same 'chestnut with the white muzzle') letting fly an arrow which misses its mark. Jěbe shoots back, hits and kills the horse and so makes his escape. Ultimately, however, he is obliged to surrender. Kneeling before the Conqueror he confesses to the crime of having killed his horse but undertakes, if the crime is pardoned, to provide the Khan with 'many such horses'. Because he is a brave man (*bahadur*) he is not only forgiven but made a commander of ten. When, having risen to the command of a *tümen,* he is sent in pursuit of the Naiman Küchlüg, he remembers his promise and returns from that campaign bringing with him, as a present for his master, a thousand chestnut horses with white muzzles! See also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol,* 116–17. It is stated by Wolff, *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren,* 110, and repeated by Howorth, I, 97, that Jebe did not long survive the great expedition across the Caucasus and round the Caspian. Wolff does not quote his authority for this statement, but the fact seems likely enough, for unlike his comrade Sübetei, who was still to distinguish himself in China and in Hungary, Jebe now vanishes from history; nor has he, like Sübetei, been accorded the honour of a biography in the *Yüan shih.* See Pelliot-Hambis, *loc. cit.,* also Pelliot, *Horde d'Or,* 133, n. 3.

[2] Cf. below, p. 151: 'And from all the armies that accompanied him Chingiz-Khan detached men from all his sons in proportionate number, and from each ten he designated one to accompany Toli.'

They forded the river at Panjab;[3] and pursuing and seeking him like a flood descending from hill to valley they hastened in the manner of smoke.

First they came to Balkh. The notables of the town sent a deputation to meet them and brought them *tuzghu* and offerings of food. The Mongols, in consequence, did them no harm and gave them a *shahna*. Then taking a guide from amongst them, they sent forward Taisi[4] by way of vanguard.

When they came to Zava,[5] they asked for provisions (*'ulūfa*); but the people of the town closed their gates and paid no attention to their words, refusing to give them anything. Since the Mongols were in a hurry they did not stop but rode on. And when the people of Zava saw the banners being borne away and beheld the backs of the Mongols, in their lightheadedness they turned their hands within their fortresses to the beating of drums and tabors and opened their mouths in abuse and vituperation. The Mongols, perceiving their contemptuous behaviour and hearing their voices, turned back and made a strenuous assault upon all three fortresses, laying their scaling-ladders against the walls. On the third day, at the time when the goblet of the horizon was filled to the brim with the blood of the dawn-red, they scaled the walls and left not alive whomsoever they saw; and being unable to stay they burnt and broke whatever was too heavy to carry.

And this was the first pawn that Fate set down upon the chess-board of Oppression, and the first trick that appeared from under the thimble of the thimble-rigging Heavens. [114] It was as though this fighting and slaying were the clue to the calamities of Fate and the disasters of cruel Destiny. From the sound thereof an earthquake shook Khorasan, and from hearing of that event, whereof they had never heard the like, the people were seized with terror.

[3] Panjāb or Mēla was a 'well-known crossing place' near the mouth of the Vakhsh. (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72.)

[4] ṬAYSY. *taisi* 'prince' is an Uighur borrowing from the Chinese (*t'ai-tsŭ* 'crown prince'). See Gabain, also Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 94.

[5] The modern Turbat-i-Haidari in Eastern Khorasan.

At the beginning of Rabi' I, 617 [May, 1220], Yeme and Sübetei arrived before Nishapur and dispatched an envoy to Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi Rukhkhi,[6] Farid-ad-Din and Ziya-al-Mulk Zuzani,[7] who were the ministers and *sadrs* of Khorasan, calling upon them to submit and surrender and demanding provisions (*'ulūfa*) and offerings of food (*nuzl*). They dispatched three persons from the mass of the people to Yeme bearing offerings and presents and making outward profession of submission. Yeme admonished them saying that they should eschew opposition and hostility and whenever a Mongol or a Mongol envoy arrived they should welcome him and not rely upon the stoutness of their walls and the multitude of their people; so that their houses and property might go unscathed. And by way of a token they gave the envoys an *al-tamgha* [8] in the Uighur script and a copy of a *yarligh* of Chingiz-Khan, whereof the gist was as follows: 'Let the emirs and great ones and the numerous common people know this that . . . all the face of the earth from the going up of the sun to his going down I have given it unto thee. Whosoever, therefore, shall submit, mercy shall be shown unto him and unto his wives and children and household; but whosoever shall not submit, shall perish together with all his wives and children and kinsmen.'

The Mongols indited documents after this manner and encouraged the people of the town with promises. Then they left Nishapur, Yeme making for Juvain [9] and Sübetei proceeding to Tus [10] by way of Jam.[11] Wherever the people came forward to tender submission, [115] they were spared; but those that offered resistance were utterly destroyed.

[6] I.e. of Rukhkh, another name for the district of Zāva. [7] I.e. of Zuzan.

[8] On this 'vermilion seal' attached by the Mongols to their documents see Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 35–6.

[9] To the north-west of Nishapur. This district, the home of Juvaini, is now called Jaghatai.

[10] The name Ṭūs was applied both to the whole district and to the town of Ṭabarān, of which the ruins are situated a few miles to the north of Meshed.

[11] Now Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām, to the east of Turbat-i-Haidari on the Afghan border.

The eastern villages of Tus, viz. Nuqan and all that quarter *(rub')* [12] tendered submission and so were at once saved; and from thence they dispatched an envoy to the town itself; and since the inhabitants did not answer to their liking they carried slaughter to excess both in the town and in the neighbouring villages.

When Sübetei came to Radkan, the greenness of the meadows and the copiousness of the springs so pleased him that he did that people no harm and left a *shahna* there. When he came to Khabushan,[13] on account of the lack of attention shown by that people, the Mongols wrought great slaughter. From thence he came to Isfarayin; [14] and in Isfarayin and Adkan [15] also the Mongols carried out a great massacre.

By way of Juvain Yeme then turned his reins towards Mazandaran, while Sübetei hastened on by way of Qumish.[16]

Yeme slew many people in Mazandaran, especially in Amul, where he ordered a general massacre. He also left troops to beleaguer the fortresses in which the Sultan's harem had taken refuge; and the siege continued until they were captured.[17]

Meanwhile Sübetei had arrived before Damghan. The notables of the town sought refuge in Girdkuh,[18] but a band of ruffians *(runūd)* remained behind refusing to surrender; and issuing forth at night they fought at the gates of the town, and some few were slain on either side.

From Damghan the Mongols proceeded to Samnan, and here

[12] The name of Nūqān (or Nauqān), which was at one time the chief town of the district of Ṭūs, is still preserved in Naughān, the name of a quarter of Meshed. By 'all that quarter' is perhaps meant all that part of the 'Quarter of Nishapur', Khorasan being divided into the four Quarters of Nishapur, Merv, Herat and Balkh. See le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 382. It is more likely however that the reference is to one of the four 'quarters' or 'territories' into which Nishapur itself was divided. See below p. 297, n. 50.

[13] The modern Quchan.

[14] The ruins of Isfarāyin are now known as Shahr-i-Bilqīs. See Smirnova, 120, n. 3.

[15] ADKAN or AYKAN. Unidentified.

[16] Kūmish, Qūmish or Qūmis was a small province to the south of the eastern extremity of the Elburz range.

[17] For a fuller account of the siege see below, ii, 467.

[18] A castle in the mountains near Dāmghān, a stronghold of the Assassins.

they slew many people, as in Khuvar of Ray also.[19] And when they came to Ray,[20] the cadi [together with several other persons] came forward and tendered submission. Then, learning that the Sultan had departed in the direction of Hamadan, Yeme hastened from Ray in his pursuit, while Sübetei proceeded towards Qazvin and that region.

When Yeme came to Hamadan, 'Ala-ad-Daula [21] of Hamadan tendered submission, sent presents of mounts and clothing and offerings of food, victims and drink and accepted a *shahna*.

When the Sultan had been put to flight, Yeme turned back and came once more to Hamadan. And when news reached him that a considerable portion of the Sultan's army had assembled at Sujas,[22] [116] headed by Beg-Tegin Silahdar and Küch-Bugha Khan,[23] he advanced against them and utterly destroyed them.

The Mongols then plundered and massacred throughout the greater part of Iraq [24] and departed from thence to Ardabil, which they took by siege slaughtering the inhabitants and pillaging their possessions.

When the season of winter arrived, they departed to Mughan [25] and passed the winter there; and that year the roads were blocked up with the great quantities of snow.

[19] Khuvār of Ray (so called to distinguish it from another Khuvār in Fars) lay between Samnān and Ray; the name is perpetuated in the Plain of Khar.

[20] The ruins of the famous city of Ray, the Rhages of the Ancients, lie a few miles to the south of Tehran.

[21] His name is given by Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 121) as 'Alā-ad-Daula ash-Sharīf al-'Alawī.

[22] Sujās was a small town, a few miles to the west of Sultaniya.

[23] Presumably identical with the Küch-Bugha Khan who, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 118) was sent by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's brother Rukn-ad-Din against Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba and who was afterwards (*ibid.*, 229) killed in the battle between Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols near Isfahan.

[24] I.e. Persian Iraq. See above, p. 13, n. 29.

[25] The Moghan Steppe, south of the Aras on the western coast of the Caspian, now lies for the most part within the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. It was presumably from this base that the Mongols launched their first attack on the Georgians, on whom they inflicted a crushing defeat near Tiflis in February, 1221. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 258 and 516–17.

Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba [26] and some others again began to stir up sedition and unrest in Iraq and started a revolt. They slew the *shahna* who had been placed over Hamadan, and seizing 'Ala-ad-Daula because of his having tendered submission they imprisoned him in the Castle of Girit.[27]

When spring came Yeme arrived in Iraq to avenge the slaying of the *shahna*. Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba came to offer submission, but it availed him nothing, and he was executed together with a number of others.

The Mongols then left Iraq and subjugated Tabriz, Maragha and Nakhchivan [28] massacring the people in all these countries. The *atabeg* Khamush [29] came forward to tender submission and was given a letter and an *al-tamgha*.

From thence they went to Arran,[30] and took Bailaqan,[31] and

[26] AYBH, for which C has ĀY ABH. The first element of this Turkish name is *ai* 'moon', and I take the second to be *aba* 'bear'; it could however be *apa*, a vague word meaning among other things 'ancestor'. On the use of this latter word as a title see Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, 96–7 and 146. According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 117 and 120) his full name was Jamal-ad-Din Muhammad b. Ai-Aba. (Houdas' text has ABY instead of AY and Houdas, by a natural mistake, has converted his name into Ibn Abou Abeh.) It would seem therefore that Ai-Aba was actually his father's name and perhaps Juvaini's text should be read *Jamāl-ad-Dīn-i-Ai-Aba*, i.e. Jamal-ad-Din, *son* of Ai-Aba.

[27] *Qal'a-yi-Girit*. This castle is mentioned by Cherikov, a Russian member of the commission for the delimitation of the Ottoman-Persian frontier in 1848–52, as lying to the south of the present-day Khurramabad in Northern Luristan. See Minorsky, *Luristān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, also M.Q., III, 471–2.

[28] The province of Nakhchivān, immediately to the north of the Aras, is now the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhichevan within Azerbaijan, from which it is physically separated by the Republic of Armenia.

[29] The son of the *atabeg* Öz-Beg and a deaf-mute—hence his name, *khāmūsh* in Persian meaning 'silent'. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 215–16. Nasawi says not a word of his submission to the Mongols; according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 227) it was Öz-Beg himself who bought them off.

[30] The province of Arrān, the classical Albania, lay within the great triangle of land formed by the junction of the Kur and the Aras, of which the greater portion now forms part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, the remainder belonging to the Republic of Armenia.

[31] Bailaqān was at that time the chief town of Arran: its ruins, known as Mīl-i-Bailaqān (Mīller), lie to the south-east of Shusha. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 398.

went on by way of Shirvan.[32] Then they came to Darband and none remembered that any army had ever passed through or gone to war by this route, but they had resort to a stratagem[33] and so passed through.

The army of Tushi were stationed on the Plain of the Qifchaq and that region; they linked up with them and departed from thence to rejoin Chingiz-Khan.[34]

From the telling of this tale their might and prowess become manifest, nay the power of '*And He is the Supreme over His servants*'[35] is verified and confirmed; for that from an army there should go forth a detachment and smite so many kingdoms and kings and sultans, having on all sides such foes and adversaries as no created being might resist or oppose, this can mean nought but the end of one empire and the beginning of another.[36]

[32] Before entering Shirvān the Mongols had again invaded Georgia and inflicted a second defeat on the Georgians. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 228, tr. Khetagurov, 194–5, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 259 and 517. The province of Shirvan, which lay to the north of the Kur along the Caspian, now forms part of Soviet Azerbaijan. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, *loc. cit.*), the Mongols had on their way to Darband sacked the chief town of the province, Shamakha, carried out a general massacre and borne off great numbers of prisoners.

[33] This 'stratagem' was, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 228–9), to invite the ruler of Shirvan, the Shirvan-Shah, to send a delegation to conclude peace. Of the ten notables whom he dispatched for this purpose one unfortunate man was put to death, and the remainder were then threatened with the same fate unless they guided the Mongols through the pass! Elsewhere (Khetagurov, 195) Rashid-ad-Din says that the people of Darband presented *tuzghu* to the Mongols and tendered submission.

[34] Juvaini says nothing of the Mongols' encounter with a coalition of Caucasians and Qipchaq upon their descending into the steppes; nor does he mention their defeat of the Russians on the Kalka. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 259–60 and 517–21.

[35] Koran, vi, 18.

[36] 'They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated.' (Gibbon, VII, 10.)

[XXVI]

[117] A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF TOLI'S CONQUEST OF KHORASAN

WHEN Sultan Muhammad passed through Khorasan Yeme and Sübetei pursued him in great haste with the speed of fire; they were in fact a whirlwind, and the greater part of Khorasan lay across the path of their armies, and there were few districts through which a detachment of their forces did not pass. And as they advanced, wherever a province lay in their path, they dispatched an envoy to the people announcing the arrival of Chingiz-Khan and warning them not to resort to war and frowardness nor refuse to accept submission, and plying them with threats and menaces. And whenever the people elected to submit, they gave them a *shabna* with an *al-tamgha* as a token, and departed. But wherever the people refused to submit and surrender and the place was readily assailable and easily attacked, they showed no mercy but took the town and slew the inhabitants. When they passed by, the people busied themselves with strengthening their forts and citadels and laying in a stock of provisions; but after some time they became slack, and the rumours concerning the Mongol armies having somewhat died down, they fancied that perhaps that host was a flood which had rolled by, or a whirlwind which had raised a dust-storm from the face of the earth, or the fire of lightning which had flashed and gone out.

When Chingiz-Khan crossed the river and turned in person to the pursuit of the Sultan, he deputed his son Ulugh-Noyan [1] to invade Khorasan; Ulugh-Noyan, who in his severity was like a flashing sword with the potency of fire, whereof the wind turned into dust whomsoever it overtook, while in his horsemanship he was the lightning-flash which leaps out from the veil of clouds, and renders the place where it falls like unto ashes, and

[1] I.e. Toli (Tolui). See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 146–8, where I suggest that this title (or the purely Mongol equivalent Yeke-Noyan, both meaning 'the Great *Noyan*') was conferred upon Tolui posthumously to avoid the mention of his real name.

leaves no sign or trace, and seeks not time to tarry or stay. And from all the armies that accompanied him Chingiz-Khan detached men from all his sons in proportionate number, and from each ten he designated one to accompany Toli; men such that if the wind of war in any way comes into agitation, fire falls into their being, [118] the fetters of restraint are loosened from the hands of their choice, and though the vast ocean be their enemy they thrust it down into the bowels of the dark earth.

When Toli went forth, he set commanders over either flank and himself proceeded in the centre, sending forward the vanguard to reconnoitre. He proceeded by way of Maruchuq,[2] Bagh and Baghshur.[3]

Now Khorasan was divided into four cities: Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur.[4] Chingiz-Khan destroyed Balkh in person, as has been separately mentioned; and with respect to the three other cities, inasmuch as other events fell out in those countries both before and after the arrival of the Mongols, their several fates shall be related [hereafter] in detail.[5] As for the rest of that region, he dispatched armies to the right and the left and to the East and the West and subjugated it all, including Abivard,[6] Nisa,[7] Yazir,[8] Tus, Jajarm, Juvain, Baihaq,[9] Khaf,[10]

[2] Maruchuq (the more usual spelling is Maruchaq), in Turkish 'little Merv', on the Murghab, now lies just inside Afghan territory on the frontier with Turkmenistan.

[3] Bagh and Baghshūr are two names of the same place. Its ruins lie near the station of Qal'a-yi-Mor on the Transcaspian Railway. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 327.

[4] See above, p. 13, n. 28.

[5] Whole chapters (XXVII and XXVIII) are devoted to Merv and Nishapur, but there is no detailed account of the capture of Herat. See the Introduction, p. xxvi.

[6] Abīvard, also known as Bāvard, 'lay near the present villages of Abīvard, at 8 Km. west of the Qahqa [Kaakha] station of the Transcaspian railway'. (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 326.)

[7] Nisā (or Nasā) was situated near the village of Bāgīr (Baghir) to the west of Ashkabad in Turkmenistan. (*Ibid.*)

[8] Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, 41: 'About half way between Ashkabad and Qizil Arvat lie the ruins of the town of Durun. There stood here, in pre-Mongol times, the stronghold (*krepost'*) of Tāq, which, not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, received the name of Yazir from the Türkmen tribe which settled there. See Tumansky, *Zap. V.O.*, IX, 301.' (V.M.)

[9] Baihaq was the name of the Sabzavar district. [10] Spelt in Persian Khwāf.

Sanjan,[11] Sarakhs and Zurabad:[12] and by way of Herat they came to the country of Sijistan,[13] massacring, plundering and ravaging. With one stroke a world which billowed with fertility was laid desolate, and the regions thereof became a desert, and the greater part of the living dead, and their skin and bones crumbling dust; and the mighty were humbled and immersed in the calamities of perdition. And though there were a man free from preoccupations, who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquit himself of the account of one single district nor commit the same to writing. How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer who, despite his inclinations thereto, has not a single moment for study, save when in the course of distant journeyings he snatches a hour or so when the caravan halts and writes down these histories!

To be brief, then, in two or three months Toli subjugated cities with such populations that every borough thereof is a city, and from the surging [119] of creatures every one of them is an ocean; and whole regions were rendered like the palm of the hand and the mighty ones that rebelled were crushed in the fist of calamities. The last of all to suffer was Herat,[14] and when he had joined her to her sisters he returned to wait upon his father. Talaqan had not yet been taken when he joined him; and with his help that too was conquered. And Khorazm, Jand and all that region were subjugated within two months. Now from the time when Adam descended until this present day no king has ever made such conquests nor has the like been recorded in any book.[15]

[11] Apparently identical with Sangān (Sangūn) between Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf.

[12] Zūrābad appears to be identical with Zūrābād or Zuhrābād, to the south-west of Meshed near the frontier with Turkmenistan and Afghanistan.

[13] The Arabic name of Sistan (Seistan), the region in Eastern Persia and Western Afghanistan.

[14] See above, p. 151, n. 5. Juzjani (Raverty, 1038) states that the Mongols took the town after a siege lasting eight months and massacred the entire population.

[15] In the margin of B someone has written in this place: *Kāshki tu nīz na-nivishta būdī,* 'Would that thou too hadst not recorded it!' (M.Q.)

[XXVII]

OF MERV AND THE FATE THEREOF

MERV was the residence of Sultan Sanjar and the rendezvous of great and small. In extent of territory it excelled among the lands of Khorasan, and the bird of peace and security flew over its confines. The number of its chief men rivalled the drops of April rain, and its earth contended with the heavens; its *dihqans*, from the greatness of their riches, breathed the breath of equality with the monarchs and emirs of the age and set down the foot of parity with the mighty and haughty ones of the world.

A fair land and a merciful lord, and a soil whose clay
bleeds ambergris;
And when a man prepares to depart therefrom, by its very
name it forbids him to depart.[1]

When Sultan Muhammad (*God illuminate his example!*) had deposed Mujir-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Din Muzaffar from the governorship and vizierate on account of an offence committed by his uncle and had entrusted that office to the son of Najib-ad-Din Qissa-Dar,[2] known as Baha-al-Mulk, Mujir-al-Mulk remained in attendance on the Sultan until the time when he fled from Tirmiz; [120] when Küsh-Tegin Pahlavan[3] approached the courtiers resident at Merv in order to sound their views and brought tidings of confusion and dispersion and the advent of a strange army. And thereafter came messages from

[1] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* to Abu-'Ali as-Saji. The name Merv—in the Arabic character MRW—may also be read *ma-rau* 'go not'. (M.Q.)

[2] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 168) Najīb-ad-Dīn Qiṣṣa-Dār had been 'vizier of Jand'. As *qiṣṣa-dār* he was 'le fonctionnaire chargé de recevoir les requêtes, pétitions et réclamations. A la fin de la semaine il réunissait tout son dossier; il le portrait le jeudi soir à la salle de réception, et quand le sultan avait fini de l'examiner, il le remportait avec les solutions données.' Nasawi calls him *ash-Shahrazūrī*, i.e. of Shehrizur in Kurdistan, and his son Bahā-al-Mulk *Ḥājjī*.

[3] The Küch-Tegin Pahlavan of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 115), according to whom (*ibid.*, 229) he afterwards took part in the battle between Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols near Isfahan. On this battle see below, ii, 436–7. *küsh* is simply a dialectical variant of the Turkish *küch* 'strength', 'might'.

the Sultan adorned with signature and *toghra* and annotated with folly and impotence, whereof the contents and purport was that the levies, soldiers and officials should take refuge in the fortress of Margha and that the *dihqans* and all that could not remove themselves should remain where they were and should, whenever a Tartar army arrived, go forth with ceremony to meet them and preserve their lives and property by accepting a *shahna* and obeying their orders.

Now, when the King, who is, as it were, the heart, becomes weak in his limbs, how shall there remain strength in the members of the body ? And so timidity prevailed over events and fear over men, and bewilderment and uncertainty overwhelmed them.

Baha-al-Mulk together with a great number of the nobles and military made every preparation; but when he reached the fortress he judged it inexpedient to remain there and set out for the castle of Taq-i-Yazir [4] together with some others. Others again departed to various places according to their fancy, while those whose reins had been seized by Destiny returned to Merv.

As his deputy Baha-al-Mulk had left behind a man of the people who was the *naqib*. This man was inclined to surrender, and the *shaikh-al-Islam* Shams-ad-Din Harisi favoured his idea but the cadi and the chief of the *sayyids* strayed from the path of rectitude and stood aloof. When it was confirmed that the army of Yeme and Sübetei had reached Maruchuq, they sent an envoy with tokens of submission and friendship.

At this juncture, a Turcoman, who had been the leader and guide of the Sultan and whose name was Buqa, sprang up from a corner and, a number of Turcomans having gathered around him, [121] threw himself unexpectedly into the city, where a number of people that were opposed to submission and obedience to the Tartar army made common cause with him. The *naqib* removed the veil of government from his face, and the Turcomans of all that region joined up with Buqa. A number of the inhabitants of Jand,[5] who had fled from the levy and had turned towards Merv attracted by the abundance of its wealth,

[4] I.e. Yazir. See above, p. 151, n. 8. [5] See above, pp. 90–1.

arrived at this time and sought refuge with him; and so he acquired a large following.

Meanwhile, the Sultan having found his rest[6] on the islands of Abaskun, Mujir-al-Mulk, now riding a donkey, now walking on foot, turned his reins and passed by the castle of Su'luk.[7] Here the Emir Shams-ad-Din 'Ali greeted him with honour and reverence; and from thence he came to Merv, where he alighted in the Garden of Mahiabad at the Sarmajan Gate. Some of the officers of Merv, who were his liegemen, came to him individually; but Buqa would not admit him into the town being apprehensive of pressure from the common people. However, when a few individuals had gathered around him, they suddenly, in the middle of the day, covered their armour[8] with their cloaks and threw themselves into the town. The Mervian levies at once girded their loins in his service, and Buqa came to him alone and was pardoned. The Turcomans and Jandians in the town, though numbering more than seventy thousand, also submitted to him. He thought himself in consequence superior to the rank of vizier, and his fancy kept the dream of Sultanship ever in his brain; for his mother had been a favourite in the harem of the Sultan whom the latter had given to his father and who, at the time she was delivered up to him, was already with child. In short, when the report of his success was noised through Khorasan, the lower classes *(aubāsh)* [everywhere] turned towards him, and in the core of his heart the delusion became implanted that the heavens could not revolve without his leave nor the winds move through the plains of the air.

At this time the people of Sarakhs had accepted a Tartar *shahna* and submitted; and the *shaikh-al-Islam*, who still had a leaning towards the Tartars, wrote whisperings to the cadi of

[6] *sukūn*: a word-play with *Ābaskūn*, which is here apparently not the port of that name but the Caspian Sea itself. Cf. below, ii, 385, where Muhammad is said to take refuge on 'one of the islands of the Sea of Abaskun'. See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 386.

[7] According to Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 148) the 'strongly fortified castle of Ṣu'lūk' lay to the north of the town of Isfarayin.

[8] *pūshishhā*, which would normally mean 'clothes', but cf. the use of *pūshan* in the sense of 'armour' in Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review*, 164.

Sarakhs, who was his kinsman. [122] Mujir-al-Mulk had been informed of this state of affairs but said nothing: until one day, in the midst of a sermon from the pulpit in the cathedral mosque, there slipped from the tongue of the *shaikh-al-Islam* the words: 'May the life-veins of the Mongols' enemies be severed!' Those present in the assembly were much exercised by these words; and he himself was silenced, confused and bewildered, and said: 'Such words passed my lips without my volition and my thought and intention was the contrary of what I said.' But when the moment is ripe, a prayer comes to the lips in accordance with the requirement of the time. *God Almighty hath said, 'The matter is decreed concerning which ye enquire.'*[9]

These words also reached the ear of Mujir-al-Mulk and confirmed his suspicion; but he was related to the man, and he bore the name of *shaikh-al-Islam* and was in himself a learned man; and so Mujir-al-Mulk was unwilling to touch him without the evidence of proof such as all the world might see and none might deny or refute. Finally, a letter in his own handwriting which he had written to the cadi of Sarakhs was retrieved from the messenger in the middle of his journey; and when Mujir-al-Mulk read this letter he had him summoned and questioned him. He denied all the rumours and hints about his having dispatched the message. Mujir-al-Mulk then handed him the letter, which was like that of Mutalammis,[10] saying, "*'Read what thou hast written.'*"[11] As for the *shaikh-al-Islam*, when his eye fell on the writing, he became disturbed and confused. Mujir-al-Mulk ordered him to be taken away, and the officers (*sarhangān*) laid hold of him and poured the fire of calamity over him; they cut him to pieces with their knives, took him by the leg and dragged him face downwards to the market place. Verily, the result of hypocrisy and guile is grievous and the consequence of treachery and betrayal disastrous.

And on account of the submission of Sarakhs Mujir-

[9] Koran, xii, 41.

[10] I.e. it contained the bearer's death sentence. For the story of Mutalammis (i.e. Jarīr) see the *Kitab-al-Aghani* ed. Brünnow, XXI, 193. (V.M.)

[11] Koran, xvii, 15, where the meaning is: 'Read thy book.'

al-Mulk continually sent troops and harassed the people of the town.

Meanwhile Baha-al-Mulk had fled from the fortress of Taq-i-Yazir and taken refuge in Mazandaran. Here he approached the Mongols and the levy, informed them of the position in Merv and offered to go thither and reduce the town and to furnish every year from every house a linen garment for the treasury. [123] His words met with their full approval and they dispatched him to Merv together with seven Mongols.

Being unaware of the developments in Merv and ignorant of the jugglings of Fate, he arrived full of greed and avidity in Shahristana,[12] where he received tidings of the taking of the town by Mujir-al-Mulk. He sent forward an officer to announce [his arrival] and wrote a letter to Mujir-al-Mulk whereof the contents were as follows: 'If there were formerly differences between us and apprehension about the holding of office, all that is now over and there is no protection against the might of the Mongol army save in service and the acceptance of allegiance. Seven thousand Mongols together with ten thousand levies are approaching Merv, and I am allied with them; and they have in one moment razed Nisa and Bavard [13] to the ground. And now, being moved by compassion and desiring concord between us, I have sent forward runners to inform you hereof, so that you may refrain from persistence in strife and not cast yourselves into the whirlpool of destruction and the oven of perdition.'

Mujir-al-Mulk and the grandees and notables were divided in their opinions and distracted in their minds. The more responsible together with Mujir-al-Mulk himself wished to disperse and abandon the town; but they reflected that to rely upon the word of an interested party was remote from prudence and wisdom. They therefore took Baha-al-Mulk's messengers aside, one by one, and interrogated them about the size of the army. When they discovered the truth of the matter, they slew them and dispatched two thousand five hundred from the

[12] Or Shahristān. It lay 3 miles north of Nisa. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 153, n. 16.

[13] Or Abīvard. See above, p. 151, n. 6.

remnants of the Sultan's Turks to fight their forces. When Baha-al-Mulk and the Mongols learnt of their dispositions they retired in the direction of Sarakhs and Baha-al-Mulk's officers dispersed. The Mongols bound Baha-al-Mulk and bore him with them as far as Tus, where they put him to death.

Mujir-al-Mulk's army proceeded as far as Sarakhs; and because the cadi Shams-ad-Din, at the time of Yeme Noyan's arrival, had gone out to meet him with *tuzghu* [124] and had handed over Sarakhs to the Mongols, becoming *malik* and governor of the town and receiving a wooden *paiza* [14] from Chingiz-Khan, they seized him and delivered him up to the son of Pahlavan Abu-Bakr Divana, who slew him in vengeance for his father.

The rumours about the Mongols having by this time somewhat died down, Mujir-al-Mulk and the notables of Merv concerned themselves with pleasures and amusements and gave themselves completely over to the excessive drinking of wine. At this juncture Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, the *malik* of Amuya, arrived with tidings that the Tartar army was besieging Qal'a-yi-Kalat and Qal'a-yi-Nau [15] and that a detachment of them had come to Amuya and were at his heels. Mujir-al-Mulk made Ikhtiyar-ad-Din welcome; he joined the other Turcomans and took up his abode among them.

A Mongol army of eight hundred men now attacked the town; but Shaikh Khan [16] and Oghul Hajib [17] arriving from

[14] PAYZH. The Chinese *p'ai tzŭ*. On these 'tablets of authority', as Marco Polo calls them, see Benedetto, 112–13. See also Yule's note, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 351–4, for plates representing two silver *paizas* found in Russian territory. Polo speaks only of gold and silver tablets: wooden *paizas* were given to minor officials. See Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 125–6 and 128.

[15] Qal'a-yi-Kalāt must be the famous stronghold afterwards known as Kalāt-i-Nādiri, for a description of which see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 126–40. Qal'a-yi-Nau, 'the New Castle', has not been identified. (V.M.).

[16] He had been one of the defenders of Samarqand. See above, p. 118.

[17] He is referred to above, p. 124, as Moghol Hajib. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 433, n. 2. He appears to be identical with the Oghul Hajib of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 19) on whom the title of Inanch-Khan had been conferred. In the chapter specially devoted to this general (*ibid.*, 111–17) he is called Badr-ad-Din Inanch-Khan. He had been designated by Jalal-ad-Din to take part in the

Khorazm with some two thousand men fell upon the rear of the Mongols, overcame them and left the greater part of them on the field. Some, whose horses were less tired, fled away; they were pursued by the Sultan's Turks and Turcomans, who captured sixty of them and after parading them through the quarters of the town and the market places put them to death. Shaikh Khan and Oghul Hajib established themselves in Dastajird.[18]

As for Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, the Turcomans made him their leader; and forming a compact among themselves they turned away from Mujir-al-Mulk and began to stir up such tumult and confusion that the face of the earth was made as black as the hearts of hypocrites, and strove to take possession of the town. Mujir-al-Mulk received tidings of their intention to make a night attack and took counter measures. Being thus unable to achieve a victory and their position having become insecure, they retired to the bank of the river and set their hands to plundering; they would come up to the gates of the town, pillage the villages and seize whatever they set their eyes on.

It was at this juncture that Chingiz-Khan [125] dispatched Toli to conquer the countries of Khorasan with men of action and lions of battle; and raising levies from the subject territories which lay across their path such as Abivard, Sarakhs, etc., they assembled an army of seven thousand men. Drawing near to Merv they sent four hundred horsemen across the ford by way of vanguard. These came by night to the bank where the Turcomans were encamped and watched their activities. Twelve thousand Turcoman horsemen were assembled there and used at every dawn to go to the gates in order to attack the town.

defence of Bokhara and after the fall of the town had fled westward, first to the region of Nisa and Abivard, then to Sabzavar and finally to Jurjan on the eastern shores of the Caspian, where he inflicted a defeat upon the Mongols. There is no mention of his passing through Gurganj; and yet elsewhere (tr. Houdas, 96) Nasawi, like Juvaini (ii 401), speaks of his presence there at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's arrival from the West and even of his warning the Sultan of a plot against his person.

[18] Perhaps the Dastagird mentioned by Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 169) as lying on the road from Marv-ar-Rud to Balkh.

Upon a jet-black night whose face was washed with pitch,
when neither Mars was visible, nor Saturn, nor Mercury.[19]

the Mongols laid an ambush in their pathway and waited silence. The Turcomans were unable to recognize one anot [in the dark] and as they arrived in small groups the Mong cast them into the water and on to the wind of annihilati Having thus broken their strength the Mongols came like wind to their encampment and left the trace of the wolf up the herd. And thus the Turcomans, whose numbers excee seventy thousand, were defeated by a mere handful of m Most of them flung themselves into the water and were drown while the remainder took to flight. For since the Mongols w aided by Fortune and assisted by Fate, none was able to conte with them and he whose time was not yet come fled away cast down his arms.

The Mongols proceeded in this manner till nightfall and c lected on the plain a herd of sixty thousand cattle (includ sheep) which the Turcomans had driven from the gates, as v as other possessions, the amount of which was beyond cc putation. On the next day, which was the first of Muharra 618 [25th of February, 1221], and the last of the lives of m of the inhabitants of Merv, Toli, that furious lion, arrived w an army like unto a dark night and a raging sea and in [1. multitude exceeding the sands of the desert, 'all warriors great renown'.

He advanced in person to the Gate of Victory together w some five hundred horse and rode right round the town; a for six days they inspected the outworks, walls, moat and min [*sic*] [20] and reached the conclusion that the townspeople's su plies would suffice to defend them and that the walls were stout bastion that would withstand their attack.

On the seventh day,

When the shining sun sought to cast his glittering lasso
from the lofty citadel,

[19] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1065, l. 1.
[20] *manāra*: perhaps the turrets on the wall are meant.

the armies gathered together and halted before the Shahristan Gate. They joined battle, some two hundred men issuing from the gate and attacking. Toli dismounted in person—

> He uttered a roar like a furious elephant, raised his shield above his head and showed his hand [21]

—and advanced upon them. And the Mongols attacked in his company driving them back into the town. Others issued forth from another gate but the Mongols stationed there repelled the attack. And so the townspeople were nowhere able to achieve any result and could not even put their heads out of the gates. Finally the world donned garments of mourning, and the Mongols took up positions in several rings around the fortifications and kept watch throughout the night, so that none had any means of egress.

Mujir-al-Mulk saw no way out save surrender and submission. In the morning, therefore, when the sun had raised the black veil from his moonlike face, he dispatched Jamal-ad-Din, one of the chief *imams* of Merv, as his ambassador and sued for quarter. Being reassured by fair words and promises, he got together presents from the quadrupeds in the town—horses, camels and mules—and went to Toli [in person]. Toli questioned him about the town and asked for details regarding the wealthy and notable. Mujir-al-Mulk gave him a list of two hundred persons, and Toli ordered them to be brought into his presence. Of the questioning of these persons one might have said that '*the Earth quaked with her quaking*' [22] and of the digging up of their buried possessions, both money and goods, that '*the Earth cast forth her burdens*'.[23]

The Mongols now entered the town and drove all the inhabitants, nobles and commoners, out on to the plain. For four days and nights the people continued to come out of the town; the Mongols detained them all, separating the women from the men. [127] Alas! how many peri-like ones did they drag from the bosoms of their husbands! How many sisters

[21] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 476, l. 700.
[22] Koran, xlix, 1.
[23] *Ibid.*, xlix, 2.

did they separate from their brothers! How many parents were distraught at the ravishment of their virgin daughters!

The Mongols ordered that, apart from four hundred artisans whom they specified and selected from amongst the men and some children, girls and boys, whom they bore off into captivity, the whole population, including the women and children, should be killed, and no one, whether woman or man, be spared. The people of Merv were then distributed among the soldiers and levies, and, in short, to each man was allotted the execution of three or four hundred persons. The people *(arbāb)* of Sarakhs in avenging their cadi exceeded [the ferocity of] such as had no knowledge of Islam or religion and passed all bounds in the abasement and humiliation [of their fellow Moslems]. So many had been killed by nightfall that the mountains became hillocks,[24] and the plain was soaked with the blood of the mighty.

> *We have grown old in a land in whose expanses one treads on nought but the cheeks of maidens and the breasts of striplings.*

Then, at Toli's command, the outworks were destroyed, the citadel levelled with the ground and the *maqsura* of the mosque belonging to the sect of the greatest *imam* Abu-Hanifa [25] *(God have mercy on him!)* set on fire. One might have said that this was in vengeance for what befell in the time of the righteous rule of Shams-ad-Din Masʿud of Herat, the vizier of the kingdom of Sultan Tekish;[26] who caused a Friday mosque to be built for the followers of the *imam* Shafiʿi,[27] which fanatics set fire to by night.

When the Mongols had finished plundering and leading

[24] I.e. the mountains seemed no more than hillocks when surrounded by the huge piles of dead. For *kūhhā* 'mountains' M.Q. suggests the reading *gauhā* 'ditches'; but the emendation seems unnecessary.

[25] Abū-Ḥanīfa an-Nuʿmān was the founder of the Hanifi sect, one of the four orthodox sects of the Sunnis.

[26] On Sultan Tekish, the father of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, see below, pp. 289–315.

[27] Muḥammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfiʿī, was the founder of the Shafiʿi sect of Sunni Islam.

captive and massacring, Ziya-ad-Din 'Ali, one of the notables of Merv, who had been spared by reason of his retirement, received orders to enter the town and be emir and governor of those that reassembled out of nooks and crannies. The Mongols also left Barmas [28] as *shahna.*

When the army departed, [128] those that had sought refuge in holes and cavities came out again, and there were gathered together some five thousand persons. A party of Mongols belonging to the rearguard then arrived and wished to have their share of slaughter. They commanded therefore that each person should bring a skirtful of grain out on to the plain for the Mongols; and in this way they cast into the well of annihilation most of those that had previously escaped. Then they proceeded along the road to Nishapur and slew all they found of those who had turned back from the plain and fled from the Mongols when half way out to meet them. In this manner many persons lost their lives, and hereafter Taisi, who had turned back from Yeme Noyan's army, arrived in Merv; he too laid balm on their wounds,[29] and all that the Mongols found there were drawn out of the noose of life and caused to drink the draught of annihilation.

> *By God, we live in violent times: if we saw them in a dream we should be terrified.*
> *The people are in such an evil plight that he that has died deserves to rejoice.*[30]

Now the *sayyid* 'Izz-ad-Din Nassaba was one of the great *sayyids* and renowned for his piety and virtue. He now together with some other persons passed thirteen days and nights in counting the people slain within the town. Taking into account only those that were plain to see and leaving aside those that had been killed in holes and cavities and in the villages and deserts, they arrived at a figure of more than one million

[28] Here BRMAS but elsewhere BARMAS: apparently 'he that does not go'.

[29] Note Juvaini's irony.

[30] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* to Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad known as Ibn-Lankak al-Basri. (M.Q.)

three hundred thousand. 'Izz-ad-Din quoted a quatrair 'Umar-i-Khayyam which was *à propos* of the occasion:

The form of a cup in which it has been moulded together
Even the drunkard does not hold it lawful to shatter.
So many lovely heads and feet—by his art
Who has joined them in love and who has broken them in hate? [31]

The Emir Ziya-ad-Din and Barmas both remained in I until news arrived that Shams-ad-Din the son of Pahlavan A Bakr Divana had started a rising in Sarakhs. The Emir Z ad-Din set out with a few men to suppress the rebellion; Barmas, after taking out of the town the artisans, etc., who v to proceed to Bokhara, [129] encamped outside. Hereupo number of persons, the measure of whose lives was filled their fortune reversed, thought that the *shahna* had received tidi about the Sultan and was preparing to flee. They at once a drum and rose in revolt, on the last day of Ramazan, [7th of November, 1221]. Barmas came to the gate of town and sent some men to summon the notables. No showed his face or treated him with any respect; and in reve he slew numbers of people whom he found at the gate of town. Then he departed together with those that had accc panied him; among whom was Khoja Muhazzib-ad- Dashtabadi, who followed him as far as Bokhara. In Bokh the *shahna* died, and there the people from Merv remained.

When Ziya-ad-Din returned he entered the town under pretext of making preparations for his departure and distribu the plunder he had taken amongst the people. He also sent son of Baha-al-Mulk to them as a hostage saying that he was own son. He himself did not show his face but rose in rebell with them and repaired the walls and the citadel; a number people rallying around him. At this juncture a party of Mon soldiers arrived. He judged it expedient to treat them well a kept them with him for some time.

When Küsh-Tegin Pahlavan arrived from the Sultan's retir together with large forces and began to invest the town, some the common people revolted and went over to him. Ziya-

[31] One of the earliest quotations from Khayyam.

Din, realizing that his affairs could not prosper with such a conflict of interests, set out for the fortress of Margha together with the party of Mongols that were in attendance on him; and Küsh-Tegin entered the town, where he began to lay new foundations, repair the fortifications, improve agriculture and mend the dam. Some of the people of the town dispatched a secret letter to Ziya-ad-Din urging him to return to the town. When he came back and halted at the gates [130] one of his followers entered the town and told some person of his arrival. The news at once reached the ears of Küsh-Tegin and Ziya-ad-Din's enemies. Küsh-Tegin dispatched a party of men and had him seized. Then he demanded his money of him. Ziya-ad-Din said that he had given it to prostitutes. Küsh-Tegin asked who they were. 'They are,' he said, 'persons of quality and men of trust who to-day are drawn up before you just as formerly they were drawn up before me; but when the time came for action they deserted me and set the brand of treason upon their foreheads.' When he realized that Ziya-ad-Din had no money and there was nothing to be got from him, Küsh-Tegin deemed his death to be his own life and considered his destruction the survival of the realm.

After the death of Ziya-ad-Din he turned with an untroubled mind to his building and agricultural schemes and worked at the construction of a dam for the river, whereas the water of Destiny had burst the dam of his life and confined the water of his existence [32] in the wells of perdition.

While thus negligent [of events] he received tidings of the arrival of Qaracha Noyan in Sarakhs.[33] He retreated by night by way of Sangbast [34] together with a thousand picked *(mufrad)*

[32] More literally, his 'water of life', *āb-i-ḥayāt*, i.e. 'immortality'. The meaning of this figurative language seems to be simply that Küsh-Tegin was about to experience a reversal of fortune and not that his death was at hand. In fact he survived to take part in the Battle of Isfahan. See above, p. 153, n. 3.

[33] The approach of the Mongols, according to Nasawi, was due to his having marched on Bokhara and killed the Mongol *shahna*. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 115, also Barthold, *op. cit.*, 448 and n. 5.

[34] The text has *sang-pusht* 'tortoise'! Sangbast is a village some 20 mile to the south-east of Meshed. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 449, n. 9.

horsemen. Qaracha went in his pursuit and overtook Sangbast slaying the greater part of his force; while his remained in charge of the government of Merv.[35]

Three or four days afterwards some two hundred ho who were going to join Qutuqu Noyan,[36] arrived at Half of them continued their journey in order to carry o orders, while the other half laid siege to the town and hı sent messengers to the generals Törbei[37] and Qaba Nakhshab reporting the gathering together of people at [131] for at that time strangers from all parts, attracted abundance of its wealth, had risen from their corne turned their faces towards Merv; and the townspeop out of patriotism were casting themselves into that stench.

Within five days Törbei arrived at the gates with five th men and accompanied by Humayun Sipahsalar, wh received the title of Aq-Malik. They took the town an hour; and putting camel halters on believers they le off in strings of ten and twenty and cast them into a of blood. In this manner they martyred a hundred th persons; after which they distributed the various quarters the troops and destroyed the greater part of the houses, p mosques and shrines.

The generals then returned to their post together w Mongol army, leaving Aq-Malik behind with a small fc the purpose of laying hands on any persons that migh exercised prudence and escaped from the beak of the

[35] Küsh-Tegin himself, according to Nasawi, fled first to Sabzavar a to Jurjan, where he joined forces with Oghul-Hajib Inanch-Khan. See tr. Houdas, 115, also Barthold, *loc. cit.*

[36] I.e. Shigi-Qutuqu. See above, p. 135 and n. 8.

[37] TRBAY. E has TWRTAY, i.e. apparently TWRBAY. already suggested by Barthold, *loc. cit.*, n. 1, this general is probably with the Törbei Toqshin who had been sent across the Indus in pı Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

[38] Reading QBAN with E in place of the QBAR of the text. Qaban who accompanied the Emir Arghun on a mission to China (Qaban was also the name of a great grandson of Chaghatai, the Ciban c Polo. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 92.

crow [39] by taking refuge in a corner. Aq-Malik put into practice the most impious forms of espionage. When no other wile remained untried a person from Nakhshab who was with them played the muezzin and gave the call to prayer; and all that came out of the holes in which they were hiding were seized and crammed into the Shihabi college, being finally cast down from the roof. In this manner many more people perished. For forty-one days Aq-Malik continued this work and then returned whence he had come And in the whole town there remained not four persons alive.

When there was no army left in Merv and its surroundings, all those that had remained in the villages or departed into the deserts turned their faces towards the town. And the son of an emir, a man called Arslan, again assumed the emirate of Merv, and the common people (*'avāmm*) rallied to his side.

When news of what had happened at Merv reached Nisa, a Turcoman [40] in that place collected an army of his tribesmen and came to Merv. The townspeople went over to him and so ten thousand people were gathered around him and he was emir for the space of six months, during which time he constantly sent forces to Marv-ar-Rud, Panj-Dih [41] and Talaqan to strike by stealth at the Mongols' baggage and carry off their cattle and horses.

At the same time, desiring to take Nisa,[42] the Turcoman proceeded thither with the greater part of his force [132] and laid siege to the town, the governor of which was Nusrat.[43] He continued the siege until Pahlavan,[44] coming from the direction

[39] *ghurāb-i-shamshīr*: a pun, since *ghurāb* in Arabic means both 'crow' and 'edge (of a cutting weapon)'.

[40] His name, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 165), was Taj-ad-Din 'Umar b. Mas'ud, and he had also made himself master of Khurqan and Abivard.

[41] Marv-ar-Rud is the modern Bala Murghab in Afghanistan. Panj-Dih (Panjdeh) is further down the Murghab in Turkmenistan.

[42] There is a pun involved since *nisā* (*nisā'*) in Arabic means 'women'.

[43] His full name was Nusrat-ad-Din Hamza b. Muhammad b. Hamza b. 'Umar b. Hamza. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, *loc. cit.*, also 173–9.

[44] Apparently Shams-ad-Din, the son of Pahlavan Abu-Bakr Divana. See above, pp. 158 and 164.

of Yazir, suddenly fell upon him, and he took to flight.[45] Half-way back *(dar miyān-i-rāh)* he was attacked and slain by the governor of the castle.

Meanwhile Qaracha Noyan had come from Talaqan to attack the Turcoman and had suddenly appeared before Merv. He again put salt on the burn, slaying all that he found and causing their grain to be devoured. And in his trail came Qutuqu Noyan with a hundred thousand men and began to torture and torment the inhabitants. And the Khalaj of Ghazna and the Afghans, who had been pressed into the levy, set their hands to such tortures as no man has ever seen the like. Some they laid on fire and some they killed with other torments, sparing not a single creature. In this manner they passed forty days and then departed; and in the town and the villages there remained not a hundred souls alive and not enough food even for these enfeebled few. And in addition to all these calamities, a person called Shah together with a small band of ruffians searched all the holes and cavities, and whenever they found an emaciated person they slew him. Sôme few such wretches escaped and were scattered throughout the country; and except for ten or a dozen Indians who had been resident in the town for ten years past there was no one left in the town.

O nights of Royal Merv when we were all united! God give thee to drink of the cloud of spring rains!
We snatched thee from the vicissitudes and uncertainties of Fate whilst the eye of Intention was anointed with the collyrium of sleep.
Now the vicissitudes of Fate have awakened and renewed their intention, and have scattered them like rain in every land.[46]

[45] E has a blank after the word for 'castle' (*ḳal'a*), which Barthold, *loc. cit.*, takes to be the citadel of Nisa. It would appear however that the Turcoman was some distance from Nisa at the time of the attack.

[46] These lines are quoted, under Merv, in the *Mu'jam-al-Buldan*, where the third line has, instead of *ṣayyarahum* as in the text, *ṣayyaranā*, i.e. 'scattered *us* like rain'. (M.Q.)

33]

[XXVIII]

OF WHAT BEFELL AT NISHAPUR

the earth may be compared to the heavens, then the lands : like its stars and Nishapur, amongst these stars, is like the ir Venus of the skies. And if it be likened unto a human ing, then Nishapur by reason of its choice and excellent alities is like the pupil of the eye.

And what are men doing in Bagbdad and Kufa
Seeing that Nisbapur is upon the earth what the pupil
is in the man? [1]

Hail to the town of Nishapur! For if there be a paradise
on the face of the earth it is this; and if it be not a
paradise, then there is no paradise at all.

Sultan Muhammad left Balkh for Nishapur, and the terror of Last Day was apparent on the pages of his condition and r and dread were manifest in his speech. And although by influence of the heavens upon the centre of the earth things l out such that if the picture thereof were imagined for one oment in the thoughts of the mountains their members would shaken and their joints loosened for all eternity—

There bave befallen me calamities such that did they
befall the days they would become nights [2]

yet to all this there were added hidden and imaginary fears in likeness of dreams and the semblance of omens, so that akness and neglect gained complete mastery over his being and cogitative and imaginative faculties were rendered incapable inventing, contriving and employing devices.

One night in [134] his sleep the Sultan had seen luminous sons, their faces scratched, their hair disordered and dishevelled, d in black robes like mourners; who smote their heads and

Lit. what the *man* is in the man, i.e. the *man* of the eye, in Arabic *insān-al-'ain,* pupil of the eye'. The verses are by Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. 'Isa araji and are quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) Eghbal's ed., II, 68.

Attributed to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. (M.Q.)

made lamentation. He asked them who they were and they replied, 'We are Islam.' And similar things were constantly being revealed to him.

At this time, whilst going to visit the Shrine of Tus,[3] he beheld two cats, one white and one black, fighting on the threshold. He determined to take an augury of his own fate and that of his enemy from the fight of these two cats. He stopped to watch; and when his enemy's cat was victorious and his own cat defeated, he heaved a sigh and departed.

When Night spread her tent, wert thou roused by a raven croaking upon an Egyptian willow?
It is fitting that the tears running from thy eyes should not be dried;
For in the croakings of the raven there was exile, and in the Egyptian willow the distance that keeps one just out of reach.[4]

And by reason of the victory of the hosts of cares and griefs the night of his youth had drawn near to the dawn of age, and from the *ghaliya*[5] there had welled up a fountain of camphor,[6] and from the heat of the bowels and the agitation of the bile fluid there had broken out upon the skin of his members the pustules of scabies like bubbles in boiling water.

My father has related as follows: 'In the midst of his flight, whilst proceeding from Balkh, the Sultan halted one day upon a hilltop to take his rest. For a time he gazed down on his beard, marvelling at the tricks of Destiny. Then turning to thy grandfather Shams-ad-Din Sahib-ad-Divan he heaved a sigh and said, "If old age and adversity join forces and attack, and youth, prosperity and health disperse and flee, how shall this pain be cured, which is the dregs of the cup of Fate? and by whom shall this knot be unravelled which was tied by the revolving heavens?"'

To be brief, having in this manner arrived before Nishapur,

[3] *Mashhad-i-Tūs*, the modern Meshed.
[4] Probably by Abush-Shīs al-Khuzā'ī. The first line is introduced into one of his *qasidas* by Manuchihri and attributed to this poet. (M.Q.)
[5] *ghāliya* was a perfume composed of musk, ambergris, etc., and *black* in colour.
[6] I.e. his hair had turned white.

on the night of the 12th of Safar, 617 [18th of April, 1220], he entered the town, where from the excess of fear that had overcome him he constantly frightened the people with the Tartar army and bemoaned the destruction of the fortresses which he had ordered in the days of his prosperity, imagining that mere conceit would assist him in time of trouble. He urged the people to disperse and depart, saying: 'Since multitude of assemblies cannot avert or repel the Mongol army; since, indeed, when that people reach this place, which is the most illustrious of lands [135] and the abode of the *sadrs* of the kingdom, they will spare no living creature but will put them all to the sword of annihilation and your wives and children will fall into the abasement of captivity; flight will then be of no avail, whereas if you disperse now it is possible that most of the people, or at least some of you, may be saved.'

But since to quit their homes is to mankind because of their love of country as the departure of the soul from the body and in the Glorious Koran exile is likened unto grievous punishment, in that passage where He Who is the most truthful speaker saith: '*And were it not that God had decreed their exile, surely in this world would He have chastised them*';[7] and since Destiny had laid hold of their skirts, nay had thrust her neck out of her collar to them —'*and He is closer to us than our neck-vein*';[8]—they would not consent to disperse. And when the Sultan realized and perceived that the acceptance of advice had no place in their hearts, he commanded that although strength of arm would be of no avail nor the stoutness of fortifications be to any purpose, they should nevertheless hold it necessary to repair and rebuild the walls. The people accordingly set to work. And during these few days reports about the Mongols had died down and the Sultan thought that they would be in no hurry to cross the river. He recovered his peace of mind and dispatched Jalal-ad-Din to Balkh; but when the latter had travelled one stage there came tidings that Yeme and Sübetei had forded the river and were close at hand. Jalal-ad-Din returned; and the Sultan, in order

[7] Koran, lix, 3.

[8] Cf. Koran, 1, 15: '. . . and we are closer to him than his neck-vein.

not to dishearten the people, mounted horse under the prete going hunting and set his face to the road leaving the g part of his retinue behind.

> *Prince Muhammad departed and there left her the boon of that blessing;*
> *For Fortune hath many vicissitudes, whereof the days pass over mankind like shadows.*

He left Fakhr-al-Mulk Nizam-ad-Din Abul-Ma'ali K Jami and Ziya-al-Mulk 'Ariz Zuzani together with Muj Mulk Kafi 'Umar Rukhkhi to administer the affairs of Nish in common.

When the Sultan departed, Sharaf-ad-Din, the Emir o Assembly *(amīr-i-majlis)*, who was a courtier and a tr minister of the Sultan and had been appointed *malik* of Nisha was proceeding from Khorazm to take up residence in the t and take over the governorship. [136] When he had ar within two stages of Nishapur, he suddenly died. The nev his death was concealed for fear his servants might plunde treasury and his own personal property. Mujir-al-Mulk forth as though to greet him and brought his servants intc town. They did not wish to remain and departed in the of Sultan Muhammad.

The next day, which was the 11th of Rabi' I, 617 [24t May, 1220], the vanguard of Yeme and Sübetei Noyan u Taisi approached the gates of the town. They sent forv fourteen horsemen, who drove off several herds of camels, also got news of Sharaf-ad-Din's retinue. A few horse galloped in their pursuit and overtook them three parasangs f the town. They were about a thousand horse: the Mor slew them all. They made close inquiries of all they fc regarding the Sultan, inflicting torture on their victims forcing them to take an oath. They then called on the pe of the town to surrender, and Mujir-al-Mulk answerec follows: 'I govern this town on behalf of the Sultan and an old man and a cleric. You are pursuing the Sultan: if defeat him, the kingdom will be yours and I too shall be

servant.' They gave provisions to the Mongol army and they departed.

Day by day fresh armies arrived, received provisions and went their way. Finally, on the first of Rabi' II [6th of June] Yeme Noyan arrived in person. He summoned the *shaikh-al-Islam*, the cadi and the vizier; and they sent under their names three persons from amongst the middle class to make arrangements about the provision of food (*'ulūfa*) and the rendering of other small services. Yeme gave them a letter in the Uighur script and charged them to give provisions to all that came and to destroy their walls. He then departed; and wherever the people submitted the Mongols deposited baggage and left a *shahna*.

When for some time the passing of Mongol armies had been less frequent and false rumours were current on men's tongues that the Sultan had been victorious in Iraq, the demon of temptation laid an egg in the brains of mankind.

On several occasions the *shahna* whom the Mongols had left at Tus sent messages to Shadyakh [9] saying that they should surrender [137] and not be deceived by idle words. He received rude answers from Nishapur.

In the meanwhile the levies of Tus under their leader, one Siraj-ad-Din, a man from whom sense was a thousand parasangs distant, slew the *shahna* and sent his head to Nishapur, not realizing that with that one head they had severed the heads of a great multitude and aroused from its sleep a great evil. In accordance with the proverb, '*Evil makes the dog to whine*,' the *sayyid* Abu-Turab, who had been set over the artisans of Tus, proceeded to Ustuva [10] unbeknown to the citizens (*arbāb*) and bullies (*fattānān*) of Tus and told Qush-Temür (who had been left with three hundred horsemen in charge of the animals) of the murder of the *shahna* and the consequent disorders. Qush-Temür sent a man to report the position to the *noyans* and himself left Ustuva for Tus with his three hundred horse. He surprised Siraj-ad-Din, who with three thousand men had seated himself in the court of command at Tus, slew the greater part of them

[9] Shādyākh was a suburb of Nishapur.

[10] Ustuvā, the classical 'Ἀσταυηνή, was the district of Quchan.

and until the arrival of the main army occupied himself with destroying the fortresses of Tus.

When Toghachar Küregen (who was the son-in-law[11] of Chingiz-Khan) arrived with the great emirs and ten thousand men as Toli's vanguard and rode up to the gates of Nishapur in the middle of Ramazan [November], the people of the town conducted themselves with furious courage, and since their numbers were great and those of the Mongols less, they made frequent sallies and engaged in battle. And being weary of life they wrestled with lions and despite the crocodiles they embarked in boats only to be torn to pieces. Until the third day they fought fiercely from the Tower of Qara-Qush [138] and discharged quarrels and arrows from the walls and ramparts. By

[11] In fact *küregen* (KWRKAN) itself means 'son-in-law'. On the various forms of the word see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 474. This same title was afterwards borne by Tamerlane (Tīmūr Gūrakān) as the husband of a Chingizid princess. That Toghachar (TΓAǰAR) was a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan is confirmed by Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 87). (Houdas calls him Tifdjâr, his text having TFǰAR for an original TQǰAR, i.e. Toqachar, or TΓǰAR, i.e. Toghachar.) Juzjani too speaks of the death of a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan before Nishapur, though without mentioning his name. See Raverty, 992. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 423–4, identifies Toghachar with the Toquchar (or Toqochar) of the Secret History (§ 257) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 220), who was dispatched, in the wake of Jebe and Sübetei, in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad, and who then, disobeying the injunction not to molest the territory of Malik Khan, was either relieved of his command (according to the former authority) or killed in an encounter with the mountaineers of Ghur (according to the latter). Neither authority, however, refers to him as a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan. He belonged to the Qonqirat tribe and was called Dalan-Turqaqtu (Khetagurov, 163) or Dalan-Turqaq (Smirnova, 163) Toqochar; and if he is identical with the Toqochar who, together with Arajen (Arachan), was entrusted during the reign of Ögedei with the administration of the *yams* or post-stations (*Secret History*, § 280), he is clearly a different person from the Toghachar who fell before Nishapur. Toghachar is conceivably identical with Küregen Küregen, a son of the ruler of the Qonqirat and the husband of Chingiz-Khan's fourth daughter, Tümelün. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 70. Rashid-ad-Din seems to have been struck by the strangeness of the name, for he comments: 'Although *küregen* means "son-in-law", yet such was his name.' May it perhaps be that, in accordance with the Mongol custom, Toghachar's name had become taboo with his death and that he was referred to thereafter as Küregen, 'the Son-in-Law'? See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, where I suggest that Ulugh-Noyan (Tolui), Ulush-Idi (Jöchi) and Qa'an (Ögedei) are instances of this

an evil chance which was to be the bane of all that people an arrow was let fly whereby Toghachar fell lifeless, the townsmen having made an end of him without recognizing his person. The Mongol army retired in the course of the day and two prisoners escaped and came to the town with tidings of his death. Whereupon the people thought that they had wrought a great deed, not realizing that '*after a time he shall surely know its message*'.[12]

When the army withdrew, Börkei[13] Noyan, who was Toghachar's second-in-command, divided it into two parts. He himself proceeded to Sabzavar, which he took after three days' fighting, ordering a general massacre, so that seventy thousand corpses were counted that were buried. The other half of the army went to Tus to assist Qush-Temür and took the remainder of the fortresses which Qush-Temür's army had been unable to

practice. The confusion arising from the use of so vague a title as Küregen might account for the absence of any reference, in Rashid-ad-Din and the Far Eastern sources, to Toghachar's violent end before Nishapur and even to his very existence, if in fact he is a different person from Toqochar. It would account also for Rashid-ad-Din's uncertainty as to the identity of Tümelün's husband. He states elsewhere (Berezin, VII, 200–1) that Chingiz-Khan gave her in marriage to Shinggü (ŠNKKW) Küregen, the son of a Qonqirat emir called Alchu (reading ALǰW with two MSS. and Khetagurov for the ANǰW of the text) or Darke (DARKH) Noyan, and sent them into the Tumat country (to the west of Lake Baikal), where their descendants were still resident in Rashid-ad-Din's day; and yet he adds a little further on (*ibid.*, 203) that Tümelün's husband was a Qonqirat called Dayirkei (DAYRKAY) Küregen, apparently identical with Shinggü's father Darke. See also Khetagurov, 162 and 164. Alchu or Dayirkei (Darke) would appear to be identical with the Alchi Güregen of the Secret History, § 202, appointed by Chingiz-Khan to the command of 3,000 Onggirat.

12 Cf. Koran, xxxviii, 88: '. . . *and after a time shall ye surely know its message.*'

13 Reading BWRKAY for the NWRKAY of the text. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 424 and n. 2, identifies him with Börke (BWRKH) of the Jalayir, who, according to Rashid-ad-Din, accompanied Jebe and Sübetei on their great expedition but died 'on that side of the river', i.e. apparently to the east of the Oxus (Berezin, VII, 52)—elsewhere (*ibid.*, 278) it is stated simply that he died 'on the way'. In Khetagurov's translation his name is spelt in the first instance (97) Burke but in the second (194) Nurke. I have adopted the spelling Börke (i), but in fact the vocalization of the name is quite uncertain: it is not attested in the Far Eastern sources. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 48, n. 1. According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 87–9) Börke (called Yerka by Houdas, his text having YRKA for BRKA) had been sent into Khorasan together with Toghachar, and they were in joint command of the operations which led to the capture of Nisa.

capture. And although the people of Nuqan and Qar offered fierce resistance and wrought countless deeds of valou in the end the Mongols took Qar and slew all its inhabitant As for Nuqan and Sabzavar they were taken on the 28th [Ramazan: 26th of November, 1220] and the people massacre

Meanwhile, the people of Nishapur were engaged in op revolt; and wherever a detachment of Mongols appeared, thith they would send bravos to seize them.

That winter prices rose very high in Nishapur and the peop were prohibited to leave the town, and for this reason most them were in great distress.

When the spring of 618/1221–2 came round and Toli ha finished with Merv, he set out for Nishapur, none knowing his approach. He collected and dispatched so large an arm that in the region of Tus they seized all the villages with o blow and reunited with their companions all that had escap the sword. He also sent a large army in advance to Shadyak with the mangonels and [other] weapons [139], and althoug Nishapur is in a stony region they loaded stones at a distan of several stages and brought them with them. These they pile up in heaps like a harvest, and not the tenth part of them we used.

The people of Nishapur saw that the matter was serious an that these were not the same men they had seen before; an although they had three thousand crossbows in action on th wall and had set up three hundred mangonels and ballistas an laid in a correspondent quantity of missiles and naphtha, the feet were loosened and they lost heart. They saw no hope [salvation] save in sending the chief cadi Rukn-ad-Din 'Ali Ibrahim al-Mughisi to Toli. When[15] he reached him h asked for quarter for the people of Nishapur, and agreed to pa tribute. It was of no avail nor was he himself allowed to retur

At dawn on Wednesday the 12th of Safar [7th of April, 122

[14] Qār. Unidentified. Perhaps we should read *Fāz or *Fāzh, i.e. Bāz the native place of Firdausi. (V.M.)

[15] Reading *chūn* with B. The text has BDRNA, which does not seem make sense. C has *bi-dar raft tā* 'he went to the gate and so . . .'

they filled the cup of the morning draught of war and fought fiercely until midday prayers on the Friday, by which time the moat had been filled in several places and a breach made in the wall. And because the fighting was fiercer at the Gate of the Camel-Drivers and in the Tower of Qara-Qush and there were more warriors engaged in these parts, the Mongols raised their standard on the wall of Khusrau-Kushk and going up fought with the men on the rampart; while a force from the Gate of the Camel-Drivers also ascended the fortifications. And all that day until nightfall they continued to mount the walls and to push the people down from the top.

By the Saturday night all the walls and fortifications were covered with Mongols; and on that day Toli himself had arrived within three parasangs of Changarak.[16] The Mongols now descended from the walls and began to slay and plunder; and the townspeople fought back, dispersed amongst the palaces and mansions. The Mongols looked for Mujir-al-Mulk and dragged him out of a tunnel. In order that he might the sooner be drawn out of the noose of life, he spoke harsh words to them; and they finally put him to a disgraceful death. [140] They then drove all the survivors, men and women, out on to the plain; and in order to avenge Toghachar it was commanded that the town should be laid waste in such a manner that the site could be ploughed upon; and that in the exaction of vengeance not even cats and dogs should be left alive.[17]

A daughter[18] of Chingiz-Khan, who was the chief wife of Toghachar, now entered the town with her escort, and they slew all the survivors save only four hundred persons who were selected for their craftsmanship and carried off to Turkestan, where the descendants of some of them are to be found to this day.

[16] Reading ČNKRK for the ḤNKRK of the text. Unidentified. (V.M.)

[17] Cf. Nasawi tr. Houdas, 92: 'Sur l'ordre des Tatars, des prisonniers en égalisèrent le sol avec des pelles; la surface en devint si lisse qu'on n'y trouvait plus ni une motte, ni une pierre en sorte que les cavaliers n'ayant pas à craindre d'y voir trébucher leurs montures y installèrent un jeu de mail. La plupart des habitants périrent sous terre, car ils s'étaient réfugiés dans des souterrains et sous des galeries creusées dans le sol, avec l'espoir d'échapper au danger.'

[18] Perhaps his fourth daughter, Tümelün. See above, p. 174, n. 11.

They severed the heads of the slain from their bodies heaped them up in piles, keeping those of the men separate fr those of the women and children. After which, when decided to proceed to Herat, he left an emir with four hunc Taziks to dispatch in the wake of the dead all the survivors they found.

Flies and wolves feasted on the breasts of *sadrs;* eagles mountain tops regaled themselves with the flesh of deli women; vultures banqueted on the throats of houris.

The land hath died for loss of them that have left it:
it is as though they had been its soul.

Abodes and dwelling places were levelled with the du palaces, which in loftiness had vied with Saturn in their ab ment, professed humility like the earth; mansions were removed from pleasure and prosperity; castles after all th haughtiness fell at the feet of abjection; rose gardens beca furnaces; and the rows of the lands became '*a level plain*[19]

Aye, calamities have enslaved it, and its hills have
become lowly things accustomed to kneeling.
Upon my oath, its aloes wood is like damp mandal in
dryness and its soil like pounded musk.

[XXIX]

[141] OF THE ACCESSION OF THE WORLD-EMPEROR QA'AN TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE AND THE POWER OF WORLD-EMPIRE

AFTER God Almighty—*holy are His names and great blessings*—in accordance with the words: '*With somewha fear and hunger, and loss of wealth, and lives, and fruits will we pr you*'[1] had tried His servants upon the touchstone of calam and melted them in the crucible of tribulation—

I am in the fire of trial when thou causest clay to drip;
I am on the stone of testing when thou assayest gold

[19] Koran, lv, 106.

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 50.

—and when in proportion to the wickedness of their deeds they had each of them borne the rope of punishment, and in accordance with the evilness of their actions and the uncleanness of their ways had drunk the brimful cup of '*the recompense of evil with its like*'; it being ordained that every event hath its limit and every beginning its end

When a thing is complete its fall is nigh

and [Mohammed] *(upon whom be peace!) hath said*: '*One piece of bad luck shall not overcome two pieces of good luck*'; it became necessary in accordance with both reason and tradition that the treasures of the mercy of God—*great is His glory!*—should again be opened up and the ease and comfort of His servants again provided for; and that all the different manifestations of His limitless charity and clemency should pursue and outstrip all the various distresses of His punishment in accordance with the text of '*My mercy hath outstripped my wrath*'; for 'the first attaineth to the last'.

> When I come to an adverse period of my life, when my body has to bear the burdens of camels,
> I do not despair, for the mercy of the Pure Creator reaches everyone of His creatures though it be only a single atom.

Gradually and regularly the traces of this clemency became apparent and the signs and marks thereof evident and manifest. And the prefacing of these remarks and the laying of these foundations announces the tale of the transfer of empire to the Lords of the World Ögetei Qa'an and Mengü Qa'an. I shall begin by describing in due order the accession of Qa'an, expressing myself with conciseness and brevity so that those that honour this book with their perusal may not reproach the author of these lines with garrulity [142] but may understand the purpose of this narration and learn in what manner Qa'an administered affairs and protected the commonweal; how he reduced the other climes, which were hesitating between hope and despair, to obedience and submission, some by threats and some by fair words, and brought them under his control and command; and how after his death Mengü Qa'an shored up the building of

justice after its collapse and raised and strengthened the foundations thereof. May God Almighty grant the success of truth and righteousness!

Before he alighted at the quarter of kingship Qa'an bore the name of Ögetei. And Chingiz-Khan from the deeds he performed and the words he uttered was wont to deduce his fitness for the throne and [to rule over] kings and armies, and in his shutting and opening and loosing and binding used daily to find the signs of valour and prowess in dealing with the affairs of the State and the defence thereof against the hand of foes. And by suggestion and allusion he used to paint the picture of this idea in the hearts of his other sons '*like the picture on the stone*', and gradually sowed the seed of this advice in their innermost minds.

When Chingiz-Khan returned from the lands of the West to his old encampment in the East, he carried out his intention to proceed against the Tangut.[2] And after the whole region had been purged of the evilness of his enemies and they had all been conquered and subjugated, he was overcome by an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate.[3] He called to him his sons Chaghatai, Ögetei, Ulugh-Noyan, Kölgen,[4] Jürchetei[5] and Orchan,[6] and addressed them as follows:[7] 'The

[2] For a detailed account of this last campaign against the Tangut see Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 268–77.

[3] For the various Far Eastern accounts of Chingiz-Khan's death see Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*. The *Secret History* (§ 265) speaks of a fall from his horse during the winter of 1226–7, which may have been a contributory factor; but the only source that mentions the direct cause of his death is the late (1601) *Altan Tobchi*, according to which he died of a fever contracted in the Tangut town of Dörmegei. This fever, Haenisch suggests, *op. cit.*, 548, may have been typhus, which is also compatible with Juvaini's reference to 'an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate'.

[4] KLKAN. His mother was Princess Qulan, the daughter of Dayir-Üsün, the ruler of the Uhaz-Merkit. (Smirnova, 71.) He was killed in Russia before Kolomna on the Oka. (Blochet, 46, also Minorsky, *Caucasica* III, 226 and 229.)

[5] JWRJTAY. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 72) Jürchetei or Jürchedei, 'the man of the Jürchen', 'the Manchurian', was the son of a Naiman concubine. See also below, n. 7.

[6] I see in this name the second element of the Qodon-Orchan of Rashid-ad-Din

severity of my illness [143] is greater than can be cured by treatment, and, of a truth, one of you must defend the throne and the power of the State and raise up that pedestal which has received so strong a foundation.

> *It is sufficient for him, if we die, that we be reviled*
> *and as for him it is sufficient for us that his ancestors*
> *be mentioned.*[8]

For if all my sons wish each of them to become Khan, and be the ruler, and not be subservient to one another, will it not be like the fable of the snake with one head and the snake with many heads (whereof mention has been made at the beginning of this book)?'[9]

When he had finished speaking these words and admonitions,

(Khetagurov, 117, Smirnova, 89), the Qodun-Orchang or Qoton-Orchang of the *Secret History*, on whom see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 147 and 286. The form of the name in Rashid-ad-Din is Orchaqan (AWRJQAN). For the use of such diminutive forms cf. the Ch'awrman and Ch'awrmaghan of Grigor (see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 419, also below, p. 190, n. 31) and Juvaini's Qadaqan (see above, p. 94, n. 7) and Sibaqan (see below, p. 184, n. 15) beside the normal Qadan and Siban. Orchaqan, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 72), was the son of a Tatar concubine. He is not mentioned in the Far Eastern sources. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 52. See also the following note.

[7] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 231–2) this interview took place in the spring of 1227, whilst the war against the Tangut was still in progress, in a place called Onqon-Dalan-Quduq, and of Chingiz-Khan's sons only Ögedei and Tolui were present, the Conqueror specifically referring in his address to the absence of Chaghatai. The presence, according to Juvaini, of Jürchetei and Orchan is particularly interesting. Rashid-ad-Din states categorically in one place (Smirnova, 72) that the former died 'the earliest of all the sons' and that the latter 'also died in childhood'. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, 169) he describes the Jürchetei who took part in the campaign of 1213 in North China as 'the youngest son' of Chingiz-Khan. In fact, as Pelliot has suggested in his article, *Sur un passage du Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*, 919, this was probably a different person of the same name, viz. Jürchedei of the Uru'ut, who is several times mentioned in the *Secret History* and is the subject of a biography in the *Yüan shih*. Nevertheless Pelliot himself, *op. cit.*, 923, identifies Jürchetei with the Pi-yin described in the *Mêng-Ta pei-lu* as the eldest son of Chingiz-Khan killed in battle when the Mongols attacked Si-ching, i.e. Ta-t'ung in Shansi, in 1213 or 1214.

[8] Bashama b. Hazn an-Nahshali. (M.Q.)

[9] See above, pp. 41–2.

which are the pivot of their deeds and their *yasa*, the aforesaid sons knelt down and said:

> 'Our father is the king, and we are his thralls; we bow
> our heads to thy command and counsel.' [10]

Chingiz-Khan then spoke as follows: 'If it is your wish to pass your lives in ease and luxury and to enjoy the fruits of sovereignty and wealth, my advice, as I have lately given you to understand, is that Ögetei should ascend the throne of the Khanate in my place because he stands out amongst you for the excellency of his firm counsel and the superiority of his perspicacious understanding; and that the government of the army and the people and the defence of the frontiers of the Empire should be executed by his auspicious advice and good counsel. I therefore make him my heir and place the keys of the Empire in the hand of his valour and ability. What is your advice, my sons, concerning this thought and what is your thought concerning this advice?'

They again laid the knee of courtesy upon the ground of fealty and submission and answered with the tongue of obedience, saying: 'Who hath the power to oppose the word of Chingiz-Khan and who the ability to reject it?

> Heaven opens its eye and Fate lends her ear to every
> commandment which thy counsel decrees.

[144] Our welfare and that of our followers is dependent upon that wherewith the counsel of Chingiz-Khan is bound up, and the success of our affairs is entrusted to his direction.'

'If, then,' said Chingiz-Khan, 'your will be in agreement with your words and your tongues in accordance with your hearts, you must make a confirmatory statement in writing that after my death you will recognize Ögetei as Khan, and regard his command as the soul in the body, and suffer no change or alteration of what has been decided to-day in my presence, nor deviate from my decree.'

[10] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1639, l. 2352.

All Ögetei's brothers obeyed his commandment and made a statement in writing.

Chingiz-Khan's illness grew worse, and it being impossible to remove him from where he was he passed away on the 4th of Ramazan, 624 [18th of August, 1227].[11]

The princes then all set out for their places of residence, intending in the new year to hold the assembly which in the Mongol tongue is called *quriltai*. They all returned to their *ordus* and made preparations for this *quriltai*.

As soon as the chillness of the air and the violence of the cold had abated and the earth was cheered and gladdened by the blowing of the gentle zephyr—

> The zephyr has adorned this worldly abode with green;
> the world has become a pattern of the Hereafter.
> The zephyr, by performing the miracle of restoring the
> earth to life, has stolen all the glory of the miracles
> of Jesus

—the aforementioned sons and their kinsmen sent a relay of messengers to spread the tidings of the death of Chingiz-Khan throughout the world and to proclaim that in order that no harm might come to the Kingdom, it was necessary to hold an assembly and decide the question of the Khanate. Upon this each man left his *ordu* and set out for the *quriltai*. From the lands of the Qifchaq[12] came the sons of Tushi, Hordu,[13] Batu,[14]

[11] On the 25th of August according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 40), having fallen ill on the 18th.

[12] The Qïpchaq Turks, known to the Russians as Polovtsï and to Byzantium and the West as Comans, had dominated the steppes of Southern Russia for a period of nearly 200 years at the time of the Mongol invasions. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 315–17, Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 88–91, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 241–2. Juvaini's Qifchāq, like the earlier Khifchākh, appears to be an Arabicized form of the name, but cf. the Khuch'akh and Khiwch'akh of Kirakos and the Khwch'agh (i.e. Khəwch'agh) of Vardan.

[13] HRDW. The Orda (AWRDH) of Rashid-ad-Din and the Hordu or Ordu of Carpini. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 29–30, advocates the spelling Ördü. Orda, Hordu or Ordu, the eldest son of Jöchi, was the founder of the Khanate known as the White Horde in what is now Kazakhstan. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 469–70, Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 226–9.

[14] On Batu see below, Chapter XXXVIII.

Sibaqan,[15] Tangut,[16] Berke,[17] Berkecher[18] and [145] Togha-Temür;[19] from Quyas, Chaghatai; from the Emil and the Qobaq, Ögetei; from the East, their uncle Otegin, Belgütei[20] Noyan, Elchitei[21] Noyan, * Yekü and * Yesüngei;[22] and from the other parts, the emirs and *noyans* that were stationed on every side. As for Ulugh-Noyan and his younger brothers, they were already in the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan.

All the above-mentioned persons gathered together in the region of the Kelüren;[23] and when the world had begun to smile because of the alighting of the Sun at the house of Aries and the air to weep through the eyes of the rain-clouds—

[15] Reading SYBQAN for the ŠYBQAN of the text. Sibaqan, a form of which Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 44, is inclined to doubt the very existence, would appear to be the diminutive of the normal Siban, which also occurs in Juvaini (I, 205, where the text has ŠYBAN). Cf. the Siban or Syban of Carpini and the Stican of Rubruck. The later pronunciation of the name was Shiban, which was converted into Shaiban because of an imaginary connection with the Arab tribe of that name. In fact Siban may be a Christian name: Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 40–7, suggests that it is the Turkish form of Stephen. From the line of this prince there sprang, besides occasional rulers of the Golden Horde, the Tsars of Tiumen and the Uzbeg Khans of Bokhara and Khiva. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 239–40, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 556–68.

[16] TNKWT. The Tangqut (TANKQWT) of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 120).

[17] BRKH. The Berca of Carpini and Barca of Marco Polo. A convert to Islam, Berke, as ruler of the Golden Horde, was the bitter enemy of the Il-Khans of Persia and the ally of their most formidable adversary, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 474–8, Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 33–52.

[18] BRKJAR. Perhaps 'little Berke'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 51–2.

[19] TTATYMUR. The Tuatemur, Thuatamur, etc., of Carpini, for which Wyngaert's text has Chucenur. He was the ancestor of the Khans of Kazan and the Crimea. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 233–5, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 549–56.

[20] BYLKTAY. He was Chingiz-Khan's half-brother.

[21] AYLČTAY. He was the son of Chingiz-Khan's brother Qachi'un. Other forms of the name are Eljigidei (*Yüan shih*) and Alchidai (*Secret History*). See Hambis, *op. cit.*, 29–30.

[22] Reading YKW W YSNKAY for the YKWB WRKAY of the text. Of the corresponding passage of the *Secret History* (§ 269), where mention is made of 'the princes of the left hand [i.e. the East] with Otchigin Noyan, Yekü and Yesüngge at their head'. Yekü and Yesüngge were the sons of Chingiz-Khan's brother Jöchi-Qasar.

[23] KLRAN. The Kerulen. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 121, n. 1. The election took place, according to the *Secret History*, *loc. cit.*, in the district of Köde'e-Aral.

Spring has come with its beauty and splendour, and the fragrance of its air has told of the desires of lovers

/hen, moreover, the herbs and flowers had blossomed in the adows and for wonder thereat the ringdoves in praise of field 1 mead had sung a hundred songs in a thousand ways in son with the nightingales—

Now we must drink sweet-tasting wine, for the scent of
musk is rising from the stream;
[146] The air is filled with clamour and the earth with agitation;
happy is he that has a merry heart to drink [24]

ll the princes, *noyans* and emirs together with so large an y that the plain was filled therewith and the desert straitened h their multitude—

When it plunged into the sea, its foremost part did not
leave to its hindmost part enough water in the sea to
satisfy a single drinker.
And if it made for land, its vanguard did not leave to its
rearguard enough space on land for a single horseman

irst of all feasted and revelled for three days and nights in cession filled with joy and delight, the impurities of deceit 1 envy remote from their secret thoughts—

They gathered the flower of deceit and drew near to the
tree of union whose fruit was ripening
In a spot where they gave to drink abundance of pleasure,
and greatness of desire, and goodness of life

ind after some days they spoke of the affairs of the realm and testament of Chingiz-Khan and read over again and again written statements made by his sons that the Khanate should settled on Ögetei. This counsel they adopted, and all the nces with an unanimity unmingled with evil or strife said to ;etei: 'In accordance with the command of Chingiz-Khan behoves thee with divine assistance to set thy foot upon the 1d of kingship in order that all the mighty ones may with one ord gird the loins of their lives with the girdle of submission

· *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1630, ll. 2372–3. For the *jūibār* 'stream' of the (which Mohl also has) Vullers has *kūhsār* 'mountains'.

and servitude and incline their eyes and ears to obeying thy command.'

Ögetei replied as follows: 'Although Chingiz-Khan's command was to this effect, yet there are my elder brothers and uncles, who are more worthy than I to accomplish this task, and moreover, in accordance with the Mongol custom, it is the youngest son from the eldest house that is the heir of his father, and Ulugh-Noyan is the youngest son of the eldest *ordu* and was ever in attendance on Chingiz-Khan day and night, morning and evening, and has seen, and heard, and learnt all his *yasas* and customs. Seeing that all these are alive and here present, how may I succeed to the Khanate?'

[147] All that day till nightfall they debated together with gaiety and friendly emulation. And in like manner for full forty days they donned each day new clothes of different colour [25] and quaffed cups of wine, at the same time discussing the affairs of the kingdom. And every day Ögetei in a different way and in a style at once subtle and correct expressed these same sentiments. When the forty days had come to an end, on the morning of the forty-first—

> When dawn with augury of good fortune raised a world-illuminating banner,
> And the eyebrow of Abyssinia was puckered into a frown, and the Chinese mirror arose from China

[25] Cf. Carpini's account of the election of Güyük: 'On the first day they [the Tartars] were all dressed in white purple; on the second day, and then it was that Cuyuc came to the tent, they were dressed in red (purple); on the third day they were all in blue purple, and on the fourth day in the finest baldakins.' (Rockhill, 19.) According to Khara-Davan the wearing of white on the first day symbolized the participation of Jöchi's *ulus* in the election of the Khan. See Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 138–9. It should be noted however that the colours appear in a different order in the account of Carpini's mission based on a statement made by his companion, Benedict the Pole, who 'told us orally that he and the other friar saw there about five thousand great and mighty men, who on the first day of the election of the king all appeared dressed in baldakin; but neither on that day nor on the next, when they appeared in white samites, did they reach an agreement. But on the third day, when they wore red samites, they came to an agreement and made the election'. (Rockhill, 37–8.)

·the knots of all the princes and every class of freeman and slave .ving been resolved, all the princes of one accord went up to ʳetei and said: 'This task Chingiz-Khan has confided to ee of all his sons and brethren and has entrusted to thy counsel e binding and loosing, the tying and untying thereof. How en may we suffer any change or alteration of his words or .ow any transformation or violation thereof? To-day, which :cording to the astrologers and *qams* is a fortunate day and a vourable and auspicious time, thou must with the aid of God -*holy is His name*—be established upon the throne of universal vereignty and adorn the world with justice and beneficence.' Finally, after much importunity on their part and much fusing on the part of Ögetei, he obeyed the command of his :her and followed the advice of his brothers and uncles. In :cordance with their ancient custom they removed their hats ıd slung their belts across their backs; and it being the year ɛ6/1228–9 [26] Chaghatai took his right hand and Otegin his ft and by the resolution of aged counsel and the support of ›uthful fortune established him upon the throne. Ulugh-[oyan took a cup, and all present in and outside the Court .rice knelt down and uttered prayers, saying, 'May the kingdom :osper by his being Khan!'

[148] *And if pearls adorn the beauty of faces, the beauty of*
thy face is an adornment to pearls.
And thou addest fragrance to the most excellent of fragrances
if thou do but touch them—where, oh where is thy like?

ʟnd they named him Qa'an, and in accordance with the usual ɹstom all the princes, in service and obeisance to Qa'an, knelt ıree times to the sun outside the *ordu*; then re-entering they

[26] Actually in 1229, though it would appear from Juvaini's narrative that e election took place in the spring of the year immediately following Chingiz-han's death, i.e. in 1228. This is explicitly stated in the *Secret History*, accord-g to which (*loc. cit.*) Ögedei was elected in the Year of the Rat, i.e. 1228. How-er, according to Rashid-ad-Din, nearly two years elapsed before the holding ˈthe election (Blochet, 15) and it was then held in the Year of the Ox, i.e. :29 (*ibid.*, 16–17). During 1228, according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 41), olui was Regent of the Empire.

held an assembly of mirth and sport and cleared the plains of merriment of the thorns of sorrow.

The world-ruling Emperor seated himself upon the ladder of vigilant fortune, Heaven-assisted and powerful, and the princes, Orion-like, girded the zone of service about the loins of affection before the sun of the heavens of greatness and power; while on the left were the ladies, each of them richly endowed with fairness and beauty, in their exquisite freshness and brightness resembling flowers and in their sweetness and purity like unto the verdure of spring.

> Her face, which is like a rose garden, is the spring of the world of the soul;
> Her mail-like tresses are the lasso of the neck of patience;
> Her bow-shaped eyebrows are the crescent of the face of the sky;
> Her ambergris-scattering ringlets are the elegance of the cheek of beauty.

All that beheld that assembly with its abundance of houris and striplings and its profusion of wine and milk exclaimed in excess of astonishment:

> By this thou shalt know how the highest paradise will be.

The eyes of Time were brightened by the presence of Qa'an and the world by his influence became without hatred or anger.

> The realm hath a fresh-faced market because the world hath a ruler like thee.
> The wind is heavy because of his resolve, the earth is light because of his clemency.

The trees of peace and security after withering away were again filled with sap; and the cheek of Hope after being scratched by despair and hopelessness again recovered its lustre. The days from rest and quiet acquired the pleasantness of nights, and the nights from the geniality and brilliance of the fire of wine became like broad day.

[149] Qa'an then ordered that they should open the deposits of the treasuries collected during so many years from the countries of the East and the West for the behoof of Chingiz-Khan, the

total of which could not be contained within the bellies of ers. He closed the mouths of the censorious with rejection their advice and allotted his portion to each of his relatives l soldiers, his troops and kinsfolk, noble and base, lord and e, master and slave, to each in accordance with his pretenns; and left in his treasuries for the morrow neither much little, neither great nor small.

For the lion storeth not provisions for a day, while
the ant storeth food for a year.[27]

.nd when he had done with feasting and bestowing gifts and sents, in accordance with the custom of '*Verily we found our ers with a religion*',[28] he commanded that for three days in cession they should prepare victuals for the spirit of Chingizan; also that from moonlike virgins, delightful of aspect and of character, sweet in their beauty and beautiful in their nces, graceful in motion and elegant in repose, such that '*God h promised to them that fear Him*',[29] they should select forty idens of the race of the emirs and *noyans* to be decked out h jewels, ornaments and fine robes, clad in precious garments d dispatched together with choice horses to join his spirit.[30] And when he had finished with these matters he began to cern himself with the administration of the kingdom and management of affairs.

First of all he made a *yasa* that such ordinances and commands had previously been issued by Chingiz-Khan should be intained, and secured, and protected against the evils of change, d alteration, and confusion. Now, from all sides there had

[27] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* in one place to Abulith b. at-Tammar al-Wasiti and in another place to Abu-Muhammad fallah b. al-Mu'afi. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 48, and II, 89.

[28] Koran, xliii, 22.

[29] *Ibid.*, xiii, 35.

[30] This custom was also followed in the case of Hülegü. Cf. Vassaf tr. mmer-Purgstall, 97: 'Es wurde nach mongolischem Gebrauche eine Grabe bereitet, viel Gold und Juwelen hineingeworfen und ihm einige wie Sterne immernde Mädchen mit Schmuck und funkelndem Geschmeide zu Beischläinnen gegeben, damit er von der Wilderniss der Finsternisse, von dem Grauen Einsamkeit, von des Grabes Bedrängnisse und peinlicher langer Weile hängnisse verschonet bleibe.'

come talebearers and informers to report and make known the doings of each of the emirs and governors. But Qa'an said: 'Every hasty speech which until the day of our accession hath issued from the mouth of any man, we shall pardon and cancel it; but if from henceforth any man shall set foot to an action that contravenes the old and new ordinances and *yasas*, the prosecution and punishment of that man shall be proportionate to his crime.'

And after decreeing these *yasas* he dispatched armies to all the climes of the world.

In Khorasan and Iraq the fire of strife and unrest had not yet died down and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was still active there. Thither he dispatched Chormaghun [31] with a number of emirs and thirty thousand warriors.

[150] To the lands of the Qifchaq and Saqsin and Bulghar he sent Köketei [32] and Sübetei [33] Bahadur with a like army.

Likewise to Tibet and Solangai [34] he dispatched greater or lesser forces: to Khitai he decided to proceed in person accompanied by his brothers.

All of these campaigns shall be hereinafter described so that

[31] JWRMAΓWN. The Chormaqan of the *Secret History*. As appears from Grigor's *History of the Nation of the Archers*, 301, it is the diminutive form of the name Chorman. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 419. Chormaqan is hardly recognizable in the Chirpodan, Cyrpodan, etc., of Carpini.

[32] KWKTAY. Cf. the Kökedei who took part in an embassy from Ghazan Khan to Pope Boniface VIII. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 469 and 471. The name means 'he of the swarthy complexion'. (*Ibid.*, 473–4.)

[33] Reading SBTAY for the SNTAY of the text, which however corresponds to the SWNDAY of Rashid-as-Din (Blochet, 18) and would appear to represent the name Sönitei or Sönidei, 'the man of the Sönit'. A man of this name actually appears in a list of Chormaghun's commanders. See Grigor, 303. His name had originally been Chaghatai but had been changed to Sönitei upon the death of a namesake. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 100, also my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 153–4, n. 39. It is however far more likely that the great general Sübetei Bahadur is here meant. Cf. below, p. 269.

[34] SLNGAY. North Korea or the North Koreans, the Solangqas of the *Secret History*, Solangi of Carpini and Solanga of Rubruck. This is perhaps the expedition under Jalayirtai referred to in the *Secret History*, § 274. See also below, p. 196, n. 18.

e manner and nature of each of them may be made known: God Almighty so will.

[XXX]

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE WORLD-EMPEROR QA'AN AINST KHITAI AND THE CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY [1]

'HEN the crown of sovereignty had been auspiciously placed on the head of the World-Emperor and the bride of empire d been laid in the bosom of his ability, having dispatched nies to all the climes of the inhabitable quarter, he carried t his intention of proceeding in person against the clime of hitai, whither he was accompanied by his brothers Chaghatai d Ulugh-Noyan and the other princes, together with so many iathan-like warriors that the desert from the flashing of their ns and the clashing together of their horses appeared like a ging, billowing sea, whose length and breadth were beyond nprehension and whose shores and centre were indiscernible. ne plain from the press of the cavalry vied with the mountains, d the hills were trampled underfoot by the stamping of the rses.

The army was led by noblemen by whom the atmosphere
was choked and the mountain tops crushed.

First of all they came to a town called *Khojanfu Balaqasun [2] d beleaguered it all round from the banks of the river Qara-ùren.[3] [151] By the encircling disposition of their ranks they

For an account of this campaign based on the Chinese sources see Franke, *chichte des chinesischen Reiches*, IV, 285–90. See also Grousset, *L'Empire des ppes*, 321–4, *L'Empire Mongol*, 291–4.

Reading XWJANFWBLQSWN for the XWJATBWNSQYN of the . Khojanfu represents the Chinese Ho-chung fu, the modern P'u-chou. for Balaqasun, this reading was suggested to me by Professor Cleaves in a r dated the 14th June, 1955. As he points out in a subsequent letter dated 2nd August, 1955, *balaqasun* or *balaqasu*, the Mongol word for 'town' or y', occurs several times in the *Secret History* (§§ 247, 248, 253 and 263) apposition to the names of Chinese towns.

QRAMWRAN. Lit. 'the Black River', the Mongol name for the Huang or Yellow River, the Caramoran of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric.

raised up fresh fortifications; and for the space of forty days they fought fierce battles, the Turkish archers (who can, if they wish, with the discharge of an arrow, sew up the eyes of the heavens) charging to and fro with such effect that

> With every arrow that they let fly with the speed of
> a shooting star they hit the target.

When the people of the town realized that to strike against the goad would yield no fruit but repentance and to quarrel with the fortunate was to attract misfortune and was the sign of desertion [by Fate], they asked for quarter, and for excess of weakness and terror the countrymen and townspeople

> At last all laid their heads on the threshold of the
> King's Court,

while the Khitayan soldiers, to the number of a *tümen*, embarked in a ship they had built and fled away. A great number of the townspeople, who had stretched their arms to combat, were dispatched '*unto the Fire of God and His Hell*'; while their youths and children were carried off in the bonds of servitude and sent to other places.

And when the Mongols departed from this town, Ögetei sent on Ulugh-Noyan and Güyük in advance with ten thousand men, whilst he himself slowly brought up the rear. When Altun-Khan,[4] who was the khan of those climes, got tidings of the approach of the Mongol army, he sent back against them two of his generals, Qadai Rengü and Qamar Neküder[5]

[4] See above, p. 39, n. 18. This was Ai-tsung, the last ruler of the Chin dynasty.

[5] QDAY RNKW and QMR NKWDR. Of these two Chin generals the former, as Professor Cleaves points out in his letter of the 14th June, is unquestionably to be identified with the Qada of the *Secret History* (§§ 251 and 252), who appears as Ho-ta in the *Yüan shih*, Chapter 2 (*ts'e* 1), 314. RNKW (or perhaps Y RNKW) is conceivably a corruption of SNKM, i.e. *senggüm*, the Chinese *chiang-chün* 'general'. See Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 45, n. 3. As for QMR NKWDR, QMR is perhaps a corruption of TMR, i.e. Temür, and Neküder is a perfectly good Mongol name ('the Slave', see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 427). It is however more likely, as Professor Cleaves suggests in his letter, that QMR NKWDR is a corruption of Höbögetür, the name of a Chin general mentioned together with Qada in § 251 of the *Secret History*.

together with a hundred thousand picked men. The Khitayan army, being rendered over-confident by their own strength and numbers and the fewness of the Mongols, completely encompassed them and stood in a circle all round them, thinking that in this way they would bring the Mongol army to their khan, who could then hold a hunting review and himself deal the finishing stroke.

Ulugh-Noyan realized that the belt of resistance had been drawn tight and that the Khitayans might be countered by guile and deceit—for 'war is fraud'—and their candle extinguished with the wind of trickery. Amongst the Mongols was a Qanqli who was well versed in the science of *yai*,[6] that is the use of the rain-stone. Ulugh-Noyan commanded him to begin practising his art and ordered the whole army to put on raincoats over their winter clothes and not to dismount from their horses for three days and nights. The Qanqli busied himself with his *yai* so that it began to rain behind the Mongols, and on the last day the rain was changed to snow, to which was added a cold wind. From this excessive summer chill, which was such as they had not experienced in winter, the Khitayan army were disheartened and dismayed and the Mongol army emboldened and exhilarated. Finally—

> When the red jewel of morning distinguished the white
> from the black

—they beheld the army of Khitai like a flock of sheep—'the head of one at the tail of another'—huddled together in groups on account of the coldness of the weather and the excessive chill, their heads and feet tucked in like hedgehogs [153] and their weapons frozen with ice—'*and thou mightest have seen the*

[6] *yai* was the Turkish and *jada* the Mongol name for the magical process of producing rain, snow, etc., by placing bezoar-stones in water. The Naiman, according to the *Secret History* (§ 143) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 121–2), had attempted to employ this same device against the forces of Chingiz-Khan; but the storm they had raised turned against themselves, with disastrous effects. See also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 112–13. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de Perse*, 328–35, has collected together a number of references in medieval Mohammedan authors to this method of rain-making. For an account of the practice in modern times see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 305–6.

people laid low, as though they had been the trunks of hollow palms'.[7] The *yaichi*[8] now ceased his *yai,* and the army issued forth behind them and like hawks falling upon a flock of pigeons, nay like lions charging upon a herd of deer, they turned upon those deer-necked ones with the eyes of wild cows, the gait of partridges and the appearance of peacocks and attacked them from every side.

> The falcon seized the dove with the beak of severity; the lion crushed the deer with the claw of violence.

They did not pollute their swords with their blood but from the backs of their horses dispatched them to hell with their lances.

> *And the bodies of the stout-hearted amongst them were dissolved by the twist of the solid-hearted spear.*[9]

As for the two aforementioned generals they escaped together with five thousand men and cast themselves upon the water: with a discharge of arrows the Mongols laid them low and stretched them out on the black earth; and as for those two demon-like wretches, who were in the van with a hundred thousand[10] men, though they crossed the water like the wind, yet soldiers who had crossed beforehand cast the fire of perdition on these abject ones; and it was commanded that the greater part of the army should commit upon them the deed of the companions of Lot, according as they saw fit.[11]

> *Hold back and beware of the lance points which are a thicket through which the serpent passed and returned throttled.*[12]

[7] Koran, lxix, 7. [8] I.e. the master of the art of *yai* or rain-making.

[9] From a *qasida* of Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi in praise of Mukram b. al-'Ala, the governor of Kerman.

[10] This seems to be inconsistent with the *five thousand* men mentioned just above. The whole army numbered a hundred thousand men. See above, p. 193.

[11] This was apparently an act of reprisal for the insulting references made by the Chin troops to the Mongols' womenfolk. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 21 and 23.

[12] From a *qasida* of Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi, two *baits* of which have been quoted above, I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

They made a mound with the right ears of the slain [13] and sent messengers to bear the good tidings of the victory to Qa'an. He too now arrived and they turned against Altun-Khan, who was at that time in the town of Namging.[14] For one week he continued to fight there; [154] then perceiving that the brick of fortune had left the mould of his kingdom and that the greater part of his army had been slain, he entered a house together with his wives and children, who were still with him, and commanded wood to be laid all round the house and set fire to; and so he was burnt alive.[15] '*He lost both this world and the next. This same is the clear ruin.*' [16]

And when the Mongol army entered the town,

> *They lengthened their hands and eyes to plunder, and the agitation of their morals increased by their standing firm.*[17]

And they plundered and pillaged exceedingly, and wrought incalculable slaughter, and took immeasurable booty. They also captured several other towns and took prisoner so many moon-faced beauties, both youths and maidens, that all the ends of the earth were rendered flourishing thereby and all men's hearts laid desolate.

Ögetei left 'Aziz Yalavach in Khitai and, victorious and triumphant, turned his reins towards his own *ordu*, dispatching

[13] Cf. below, p. 270. So too after the Battle of Liegnitz 'the victorious Mongols cut one ear off every enemy corpse they found on the battlefield; nine large bags of ears were collected'. (Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 55.)

[14] NAMKYNK. The Namging of the *Secret History*, i.e. Nan-ching, the southern capital of the Chin, the present-day K'ai-fêng.

[15] Juvaini gives a somewhat garbled account of the Chin Emperor's suicide. Ai-tsung was no longer in K'ai-fêng having fled first to Kuei-tê and then to Ts'ai-chou (the present-day Ju-nan) near the Sung frontier. Hemmed in once again by Mongol and Sung forces and despairing of the possibility of further resistance he hanged himself in a palace or pavilion, which was then set on fire, either in accordance with his own previous instructions or by the subsequent command of a close kinsman. See Franke, *op. cit.*, IV, 290, V, 157.

[16] Koran, xxii, 11.

[17] Another line of the *qasida* by al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. See above, I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

armies against Manzi and to Solangai [18] and other regions suc as the lands of the Tangut, Tibetans and Su-Moghol;[19] as y shall hereinafter read.

[XXXI]

OF THE SECOND *QURILTAI*

WHEN the Emperor, who was a Hatim in bounty and a Khusr in affability, his mind set at rest regarding the conquest of Khit had proceeded in triumph to his place of residence and t princes and emirs whom he had dispatched to the ends of t inhabitable quarter had all of them attained their goal and obje and [155] returned pleased with their success, his high coun and lofty resolve required that he should again call together h children and kinsmen so that in consultation with them he mig confirm the old and new *yasas* and ordinances, and they mig again dispatch armies to such countries as they saw fit, and the princes and armies, noble and base, might have their sh of the gifts of his goodness and liberality, which were like t spring rain. Accordingly he dispatched messengers to summ them, and they all set out from their places of residence a turned their faces towards the Court. In the year . . .[1],

[18] This too could be a reference to the expedition under Jalayirtai. See abo p. 190, n. 34.

[19] SWMΓWL. Lit. 'Water Mongols', *su* being the Turkish word 'water', the 'Sumongol, id est aquatici Mongoli' of Carpini (Wyngaert, 5 the 'Su-Moal, hoc est Moal aquarum' of Rubruck (*ibid.*, 269) and the Sh Ta-ta of the Chinese: they inhabited the eastern part of Manchuria. See Br schneider, II, 175, n. 935. Professor Cleaves informs me, in a letter dated 26th August, 1955, that he can find no evidence in the Far Eastern sources t Ögedei sent an expedition against the Shui Ta-ta. It is stated however in passage from the *Secret History* referred to above (p. 190, n. 34) that Jalayirt expedition was intended to reinforce troops that had been previously dispatch against the Jürchen and Solangqas; and Professor Cleaves suggests that this instance the term Jürchen may perhaps include the Shui Ta-ta, who app to have been a branch of that people and are often mentioned in associat with them in the *Yüan shih*.

[1] There is a blank in A and B. The correct year, as M.Q. points out, m be 632/1234–5 since this *quriltai* was held, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Bloch 40–1), in the Year of the Sheep, i.e. 1235.

the time when the world was a Garden of Iram,[2] and the hands of the flowers from the bounty of the clouds were generous and munificent like the disposition of the King, and when the earth by the continuous favours of the heavens had donned many-coloured robes, and the trees and branches had drunk the sap of well-being and verdancy—

The spring wove for her mansion a dress of brocade from the essence of the flowers prepared with dew.
The heavens shed thereon the fine rain of their tears, and it smiled in the morning in place of the stars of the heavens,
In a green robe, whose embroidery was adorned by the basil royal with a yellow jewel

—the princes reached his Court, and the meeting was adorned and beautified as are the Pleiades when blessed by conjunction with the radiant full moon. It was as though

They gathered together again on the bank of the Euphrates after having been long separated.
And they made the meadows of their kinsman fertile again and the gardens of flirtation green with herbs.

And there came also crowds of *noyans* and emirs, officials *(arbāb-i-ashghāl)* and local governors *(aṣḥāb-i-aʿmāl)*.

The World-Emperor welcomed those of his kinsmen that were his elder brothers and uncles with every mark of respect, and deference, and honour, and veneration, [156] while as for his younger brothers and sons, who were as his children, nay, as pieces of his liver, he distinguished them with all manner of benevolence and with excess of kindness. And for one continuous month in unison with like-minded relatives and with the assistance of kinsmen without compare he joined dawn to dusk and morning to evening in constant application to bowls and goblets and the handing round of cups by the hands of beauteous cupbearers. And they had their heart's desire of the flowers and fruit of false Fate, that is the enjoyment of all kinds of wanton pastimes. And all present at the assembly and

[2] A fabulous earthly paradise in the deserts of South Arabia, constructed by the jinn for Shaddād the son of ʿĀd.

resident at the Court passed several days in sweet and pleasant content in the sanctuary of Qa'an's royal munificence, which was raised up by the action and power of God, and complied with the following quatrain which I heard in Qara-Qorum:

O thou whose lifetime is certainly but a few days,
What is even the empire of the whole world for a few days?
Enjoy thy share of life as best thou canst
For these few days will pass away.

And Qa'an in his wonted manner and in accordance with his usual practice opened the doors of the treasuries, which no man had ever seen closed, and distributed amongst all present, kinsman and stranger, all the valuables that had been gathered together from every clime since the holding of the first *quriltai*, scattering them upon small and great as the spring cloud rains upon grass and trees.

Thy fingers flowed with liberality in times of misfortune, and the sons of the earth cried out for help because they were drowning therein.

And from all the corners of the earth there had come merchants, and speculators, and seekers of governorships *(a'māl)* and appointments, and all returned having attained their goal and object, and succeeded in their wishes and desires, and received the double of what they had in mind. How many a poor man became rich, how many a pauper wealthy and prosperous! And every obscure person became a man of great account.

When in this manner the feasting had come to an end, he turned to affairs of state and the disposition of the armies. And since there were many parts of the climes where the wind of rebellion had not left men's brains, he charged each of his sons and kinsmen with a different campaign and resolved once again to take part in person and set his reins in motion. [157] But after he had made up his mind, Mengü Qa'an, who, though in respect to age he was in the first stage of youth, yet with regard to wisdom and dignity was in the rank of the elders of the age and of experienced veterans, remarked upon Qa'an's [decision] to take part [in person] and said: 'All of us brothers and sons

stand ready to obey thy ever-fulfilled command and have set our eyes and ears to the execution of affairs and the removal of difficulties, in order that we may attend to whatever may be commanded, while Qa'an busies himself with spectacles, and amusements, and the enjoyment of every wish and pleasure, and rests himself from the toil of travels and the endurance of dangers. Otherwise of what use are so many kinsmen and such countless armies ?

Go slowly, for the zenith of the sun will not move.'

When these aged words from the tongue of that incomparable prince had reached the hearing of those present, they made them their model and guide and each of them delivered a speech in the same manner until Qa'an too was convinced.

Thereupon each of the princes and *noyans* was designated to a different campaign and they were dispatched to the East and the West, the South and the North. And since the tribes of the Qifchaq and the Keler [3] had not yet been completely crushed the chief attention was paid to the conquest and extirpation of these peoples. Of the princes Batu, Mengü Qa'an and Güyük were appointed to conduct this campaign and each departed to his own encampment with a large army of Taziks and Turks intending to set out at the beginning of the coming spring. They made preparations for the journey and started out at the appointed time.

As for Qa'an he was exempted from the wearying of his person. Agents and scribes were dispatched to the regions that had submitted. Drawn swords were sheathed; the foot of tyranny and oppression was shackled; the hand of justice and munificence was opened; and mandates and *yasas* were written to every side saying that no man should injure another nor the strong impose upon the weak. The dust of disturbances and calamities subsided and all creation was secure. Qa'an's fame was spread by the north wind like a fragrant zephyr throughout

[3] I.e. the Hungarians. Keler (KLAR), like the Kerel of the *Secret History* (§§ 262 and 270), is a corruption of the Hungarian *király* 'king', the name of the ruler being applied to his people. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 115–23.

the plain of the world, and the report of his justice and bounty travelled to every horizon [158] and soared up like the Eagle.

Thou sojournest in a country, and thy fame journeys on:
it bates the siesta and loathes the bivouac.[4]

And by reason of the fair tales that were spread about him the people of every side chose from sincere desire to be his subjects and considered temporal happiness to consist in obedience and allegiance to him. They therefore dispatched messengers with presents to his Court, and from the uttermost lands, on account of a name and fame compared with which the mention of former kings seemed naught but a fable, all the races of mankind vied with one another in hastening to do him homage.

And so he passed his time and had his full share of the enjoyment of listening to songs, and dallying with songstresses, and quaffing purple wine.

What life is that when vicissitudes last long? That is life when joy is universal.
The days when I am honoured and my command obeyed, it is these that I reckon as my life.

For the remainder of his life he continued in this manner until suddenly on the 5th of Jumada II, 639 [11th of December, 1241], the Destroyer of Delights sprang out from ambush and unexpectedly discharged the arrow of Doom from the thumb of Destiny.

Such is ever the wont of the Blue Circle: when it sees a man without grief, it swiftly brings about his decline.[5]

The drinking-place of Life was muddied by the dust of Death.

If it were possible for roses to exist without thorns, every moment there would be a fresh pleasure in the world.
This ancient palace of Life would be pleasant to us if Death were not at the door.

[4] The opening line of a 'hunting poem' by Abu-Firas al-Hamdani. (M.Q.)
[5] Quoted again in III, 6 (ii, 549).

[XXXII]

OF THE DEEDS AND ACTIONS OF QA'AN

WHEN the hand of the creation of power had placed the signet of the Empire upon the finger of his fortune, as has already been set forth, he dispatched armies to all sides and every land, and most of the climes were purged of his adversaries. The fame of his justice and beneficence became an ear-ring in all ears and his favours and kindnesses like bracelets on the hands and forearms of all. [159] His Court became an asylum to all the world and his presence a refuge and shelter to the whole earth. As the lights of the dawn of his equity were without the dust of the darkness of evening *(shām),* so the extent of his empire reached from farthest Chin and Machin to the uttermost districts of Syria *(Shām).* His bounty was general to all mankind, and waited not for month or year.[1] His being and generosity were two coursers running neck and neck, and his nature and constancy twin sucklings at one breast. The mention of Hatim Tai was abolished during his lifetime, and the clemency of Ahnaf[2] was as nothing compared with his. During his reign the reeling world came to rest and the cruelties of the implacable heavens were tempered. In the time of his Khanate

> Heaven, that swift steed that had never been tamed, ambled gently under the saddle of obedience to him.

And in the prospect of his mercy and compassion hope revived in every breast. And such as had survived the sword remained in the noose of life and the bed of security. The banners of the Mohammedan faith were unfurled in the farthest lands of infidelity and the remotest countries of polytheism, whose nostrils the scent of Islam had not yet reached. And opposite the temples of idols were reared up the shrines of God the Merciful. The fame of his justice caused the chaining of strays, and the report of his bounty occasioned the capture of wild beasts.

[1] I.e. he was generous at all times, not merely on festive occasions.

[2] Aḥnaf the son of Qais was a pre-Islamic Arab famous for his clemency (*ḥilm*).

Because of the awe he inspired the froward were enslaved, and by reason of the severity of his punishment the haughty were humbled. His *yarligh* did the work of the sword, and the pages of his letters stole the lustre from the sabres of cavalry.

He routed them with fear before he pursued them and put them to flight with letters, without squadrons.

The generals of his Court and the servants of his fortune led armies to the East and the West, while Qa'an was able to dispense with being present in person, and in accordance with the verses,

The world is half for rejoicing and half for acquiring fame.
When thou loosenest thine own bonds are loosened, and when thou bindest thou thyself art bound,

and in opposition to the words of advisers and censurers, rejecting this saying of theirs:

When the king spends his mornings engaged in amusement, condemn his kingdom to woe and destruction,[3]

[160] he was ever spreading the carpet of merrymaking and treading the path of excess in constant application to wine and the company of peri-faced ones of beautiful form.

In the distribution of gifts he bore the palm from all his predecessors. Being by nature extravagantly bountiful and liberal he gave away everything that came in from the farthest and nearest parts of the Empire without its being registered by accountant *(mustaufi)* or inspector *(mushrif)*. And he drew the line of cancellation through the sum total of the tales of former kings, since it appeared to be *hashv*[4] compared with the expenditure of his own actions, and marked as paid *(tarqīn mī nihād)* the *bariz*[5] of past traditions, which was wrong from beginning to end. No mortal returned from his presence without his lot or share and no petitioner heard from his tongue the words *No* and *Nay*.

[3] Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

[4] I.e. entries in kind of which the ultimate cash value was doubtful.

[5] I.e. cash entries. On the terms *ḥashv* and *bāriz* see above, p. 32, n. 18.

> *No in answering cuts the wings of desires and on that account resembles the scissors.*[6]

Those in need that came to him from every side speedily returned with their wishes unexpectedly fulfilled, and office-seekers and petitioners straightway went home with whatever each of them had desired.

> *For the voice of the petitioner was sweeter and more desirable to his ear than the melodies of music.*[7]

Upon those that came from distant and rebellious *(yaghi)* lands he bestowed presents in the same way as upon those that were from near and subject *(il)* countries. And no one went away from his presence disappointed or frustrated. From time to time the pillars of the Empire and the Court would object to his extravagance, saying that if there was no escape from this conferring of gifts and favours it was incumbent upon him to bestow them on his servants and subjects. Qa'an would reply: 'The censorious are devoid of the jewel of wit and understanding, and their words are idle in two ways. Firstly, because when the fame of our manners and customs has reached the rebellious, their hearts will necessarily incline towards us, for "*Man is the slave of kindness*"; and by reason of that beneficence the army and the people will be saved the trouble of encountering and fighting them and spared much toil and hardship. And secondly, it is even clearer—since this world has notoriously been faithful to none but in the end has turned the back of cruelty—that it beseems a wide-awake man, who is adorned with the light of understanding, [161] to keep himself alive by the perpetuation of a good name.

> Come, let us not tread the world in evil; let us by striving take every opportunity of doing good.
> If I die with a good name, it is well; I need a name since for the body there is death.[8]

[6] A reference to the shape of the letter *lām-alif* used to write *lā* 'no'.

[7] From a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam. (M.Q.)

[8] For the first line see the *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, *61*, l. 528. The second line is not in Vullers.

And whenever the kings of olden time were mentioned together with their customs and usages, and reference was made to their storing up and hoarding of gold and silver, he would say that those who deposited valuable treasures beneath the earth were devoid of their share of intellect and strong understanding, for no distinction could be made between that treasure and the dust, seeing that it could be neither the cause of warding off harm nor the occasion of a source of advantage. When the day of doom arrived, of what assistance would be the treasures they had laid by and of what avail to them ?

> *Where are the Khusraus, the first mighty ones ? They*
> *stored up treasures, and the treasures endured not,*
> *neither did they endure.*[9]

'As for us, for the sake of our good name we shall store up our treasures in the corners of men's hearts and shall leave nothing over for the morrow.

> Even in their sleep the Sultans of the age do not see
> as much wealth as is the tenth part of what we bestow
> as presents from what is ready at hand.
> We have given the silver and gold of the whole world to
> mankind because they are the acts of generosity of
> our riskless hand.'

The above is but a brief account of his actions. It may be that those who hear and read this history will regard these statements as belonging to the category of '*The fairest poetry is the falsest*'. In order to prove their truth we shall in a succinct manner free from the contingencies of detraction or hyperbole recount some few anecdotes wherefrom these statements may be fully confirmed, though indeed they are but little out of much and as one out of a thousand.

[i] It is laid down in the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols that in the season of spring and summer no one may sit in water by day, nor wash his hands in a stream, nor draw water in gold or silver vessels, nor lay out washed garments upon the plain; it being their belief that such actions increase the thunder and

[9] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

lightning. For in the country where they live it rains most of the time from the beginning of spring until the end of summer, and the clashing of the thunder is such [162] that when it roars '*they thrust their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-clap, for fear of death*',[10] and the flashing of the lightning is such that '*the lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes*';[11] and it has been observed that when it lightnings and thunders they become '*as mute as fishes*'.[12] Every year that one of them is struck by lightning they drive his tribe and household out from amongst the tribes for a period of three years, during which time they may not enter the *ordu* of the princes. Similarly if an animal in their herds and flocks is so struck, they proceed in the same manner for several months. And when such a happening occurs they eat no food for the remainder of the month, and as in the case of their periods of mourning, they hold a celebration *(süyürmishi)* at the end of that month.

One day Qa'an was returning from his hunting ground together with Chaghatai when at noon they beheld a Moslem sitting in midstream washing himself. Now Chaghatai was extremely zealous in enforcing the *yasa* and spared no one who had deviated even slightly from it. When he caught sight of this man in the water, from the flame of the fire of his anger he wished to commit the earth of his being to the wind of annihilation and to cut off the source of his life. But Qa'an said: 'To-day it is late and we are tired. This man shall be held in custody until to-morrow, when we can inquire into his case and ascertain the reason for his violating our *yasa*.' And he ordered Danishmand Hajib to take charge of the man till the morning, when his innocence or guilt might be discovered; he also told Danishmand, in secret, to have a *balish* of silver thrown in the water where the man had been sitting and to instruct the man,

[10] Koran, ii, 18. [11] *Ibid.*, 19.

[12] Cf. Rubruck: 'They never wash clothes, for they say that God would be angered thereat, and that it would thunder if they hung them up to dry. They will even beat those they find washing them. Thunder they fear extraordinarily; and when it thunders they will turn out of their dwellings all strangers, wrap themselves in black felt, and thus hide themselves till it has passed away.' (Rockhill, 75–6.)

when he was examined, to say that he was a poor man with many obligations, that this *balish* was his whole capital and that it was for this reason that he had acted so rashly. On the next day the guilty man was examined in Qa'an's presence. Qa'an listened to the excuse with the ear of acceptance, but by way of precaution someone went to the spot and the *balish* was taken out of the water. Then Qa'an said: 'To whom could it occur to meditate breaking our *yasa* and commandment [163] or swerving a single hair's-breadth therefrom? But it seems to be that this man is a person of poor estate and little property and so has sacrificed himself for a single *balish*.' He commanded that the man should be given ten more *balish* in addition to the one; and a written statement was taken from him that he would not commit a similar action again. And so he not only escaped with his life but acquired property. And on this account freemen became the slaves of this act, which was better than immense treasures.

And from his fair sword there came blades wherewith the freeman was enslaved and the careworn liberated.[13]

[ii] When they first rose to power they made a *yasa* that no one should slaughter animals by cutting their throats but should slit open their breasts after the Mongols' own fashion.

A Moslem bought a sheep in the market, took it home, closed the gates securely and slaughtered the animal after the Moslem fashion in [the lane between] two or three houses, not knowing that he was being watched by a Qifchaq, who, awaiting his opportunity, had followed him from the market. When he drew the knife across the sheep's throat, the Qifchaq leapt down from the roof, bound him tight and bore him off to the Court of the World-Emperor. Qa'an examined the case and sent out scribes to investigate. When the circumstances were made known to his clear intellect, he spoke as follows: 'This poor man has observed the commandment of our *yasa* and this Turk has infringed it.' The Moslem's life was spared and he was

[13] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi in praise of Abu-'Abdallah, the governor of Kerman. (M.Q.) This anecdote is also recounted by Juzjani. See Raverty, 1107–9.

treated with favour *(soyurghamishī)*, while the ill-natured Qifchaq was handed over to the executioners of Fate.

> If one zephyr of thy favour passes through the forest, the
> musk deer carries off its navel from the jaws of the lion.

[iii] A troupe of players had come from Khitai and acted wondrous Khitayan plays such as [164] no one had ever seen before. One of these plays consisted of tableaux of every people, in the midst of which an old man with a long white beard and a turban wound round his head was dragged forth upon his face bound to the tail of a horse. Qa'an asked who this was meant to portray. They replied that it represented a rebellious Moslem, for that the armies were dragging them out of the lands in this manner. Qa'an ordered the show to be stopped and commanded his attendants to fetch from the treasury all sorts of jewels from the lands of Khorasan and the two Iraqs, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, etc., and also gold-embroidered webs and garments, and Arab horses, and arms from Bokhara and Tabriz; and likewise what was imported from Khitai, being garments inferior to the others, small horses and other Khitayan products; and all these things he commanded to be laid side by side so that it might be seen how great was the difference. And he said: 'The poorest Moslem has many Khitayan slaves, while the great emirs of Khitai have not one Moslem captive. And the reason for this can only be the beneficence of the Creator, Who knoweth the station and rank of every nation; it is also in conformity with the ancient *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, according to which the blood-money for a Moslem is forty *balish* and for a Khitayan a donkey. In view of such proofs and testimonies how can you make a laughing stock of the people of Islam? This crime you have committed ought to be punished, but I will spare your lives. Count that as a total gain; depart from my presence forthwith and be seen no more in this neighbourhood.'

[iv] A certain ruler from . . .[14] sent a messenger to him and

[14] D has: 'Someone sent a messenger to him who was son of the king (*pādshāh*) of Badakhshan . . .' The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 64) runs: 'One of the rulers (*mulūk*) of Persia (*Īrān-zamīn*) sent a messenger . . .'

expressed a desire to yield him homage and obedience, sending among other gifts a polished ruby which had come down to him from the victories of his ancestors. [165] The name of Mohammed the Prophet of God was written on top of the stone, while beneath it in due order were impressed the names of his forefathers. Qa'an commanded the jewellers to leave the name of Mohammed for luck's sake but to erase the names of the sultans and to set his own name after the name of the Prophet *(upon whom be mercy and peace!)* and that of Him Who sent him.

[v] A poor man, who was unable to earn a living and had learnt no trade, sharpened pieces of iron into the shape of awls and mounted them on pieces of wood. He then sat down where the retinue of Qa'an would pass and waited. Qa'an caught sight of him from afar and sent one of his attendants to him. The poor man told him of the weakness of his condition, the smallness of his property and the largeness of his family and gave him the awls. But when the messenger saw his clumsy awls, whereof even a hundred would hardly have been worth a barley-corn, he thought them unworthy of being presented to Qa'an and so left them with him and [returning] told what he had seen. Qa'an ordered him [to go back and] bring all the awls that the man had with him. And taking them in his hand he said: 'Even this kind will serve for herdsmen to mend the seams in their *qumiz* [15] skins with.' And for each awl he gave the man a *balish*.

[vi] An aged man, whose strength had been exhausted by the revolution of days and nights, came to Qa'an and asked for two hundred *balish* of gold to form a company with him. Said one of the courtiers: 'The sun of this man's life has reached its evening, and he has no children or grandchildren or any fixed dwelling or abode, and no one is acquainted with his condition.' Qa'an replied [166]: 'Since he must have cherished this wish in his heart during all his long life and ever sought such an opportunity, it would be remote from magnanimity to send him from our presence disappointed and frustrated, nor would this

[15] *qumiz*, i.e. fermented mare's milk, is the *cosmos* of Rubruck, who gives a detailed account of its manufacture. See Rockhill, 66–7.

be worthy of the royalty which God has bestowed upon us. Give him what he asks for before he goes to meet his destiny.

O caviller! verily generosity will not destroy me and
the avaricious soul will not be rendered immortal by
its baseness.
The character of the hero will still be mentioned when
his bones are hidden in the grave, rotten and decayed.[16]

He shall not give up the ghost without accomplishing his desire.' The man had not yet received all the *balish* when he died. The report hereof brought many persons to Qa'an's threshold.

His fame showed the way to his beneficence as the
murmur of waters bids one to the sea.

[vii] A person came to him and asked for five hundred *balish* in connection with some deal. He ordered his petition to be granted. His courtiers pointed out that the man was a person of no standing who had not a farthing of his own and owed debts amounting to all that he had asked for. Qa'an told them to double the amount so that he might make half of it his capital and give the remainder to his creditors.

These acts of generosity are not two cups of milk.[17]

[viii] A document was found which told that in such-and-such a place in his dominions was a treasure that had been laid up by Afrasiyab. And it was written in the document that all the beasts of burden in that region could not raise up that treasure. But Qa'an said: 'What need have we of a treasure laid up by another? We bestow it all upon the servants of God Almighty and our own subjects.'

He hath cares to the greatest of which there is no limit,
and his slightest care is more glorious than Destiny.

[ix] An *ortaq*[18] came to him and received a capital of five hundred *balish*. He went away for a while and then returned

[16] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to Hatim of Tayyi'. (M.Q.)

[17] From the well-known verses by Umayya b. Abus-Salt ath-Thaqafi in praise of Saif b. Dhu-Yazan quoted in a long story in the *Kitab-al-Aghani*. (M.Q.)

[18] An *ortaq*, in Turkish lit. 'partner', was a merchant who formed a commercial association with a ruler or great man. See Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 788, Hinz, *Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen*, 334.

saying that he had not one *balish* left and offering some unacceptable excuse. Qa'an ordered him to be given the same amount again. In a year's time the man returned even poorer than the first time and gave some other excuse. He was given another five hundred *balish*. When he returned the third time the *bitikchis* were afraid to communicate his message. Instead they denounced his wastefulness and extravagancy saying, 'He wastes and devours this money in such-and-such a country.' 'How,' asked Qa'an, 'can one devour *balish*?' They replied that he gave them to worthless persons and spent them on food and drink. 'Since the *balish* themselves are there,' said Qa'an, 'and since those who take them from him are also our subjects, the money remains in our hands and is not scattered underfoot. Give him as much as you gave him the first time but tell him to stop being wasteful and extravagant.'

And I tried him in both conditions together and found him
more generous on his return than in the beginning.[19]

[x] There is a town in the clime of Khitai called *Tayanfu,[20] the people of which presented a petition saying, 'We have incurred a debt of eight hundred *balish*, which will be the cause of our undoing, and our creditors are demanding payment. If an order is given for our creditors to be easy with us for a time, we shall then be able gradually to repay them and shall not be uprooted and scattered.' 'If we order their creditors to be easy with them,' said Qa'an, 'they will suffer a great loss, and if we leave things as they are the people will be ruined and homeless.' He therefore commanded a proclamation to be made and declared throughout the realm that whoever had a claim on them [168] should bring documentary proof or else the debtor should produce the creditor and he should receive cash from the treasury. And the door of the treasury, which had never been shut, was opened wide, and the people came thither and received

[19] From a *qasida* by Ibn-al-'Amid, the famous minister of the Buyids. (M.Q.)

[20] The text has ṬAYM'W, which I have emended to ṬAYNFW, i.e. Tayanfu. Cf. Marco Polo's Taianfu for T'ai-yüan fu, which was then the capital of the province of Shansi. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 15, n. 2. On the other hand cf. Blochet, 66–7, n. *k*.

balish; and there were many who had no debts and pretended to be creditor and debtor and so received *balish*; and so they received double the sum they had mentioned.

And when his generosity flows, the rain is put to shame,
and the Euphrates falls—and where is the Euphrates?

[xi] When he was on his hunting ground someone brought him two or three water-melons. None of his attendants had any *balish* or garments available, but Möge [21] Khatun, who was present, had two pearls in her ears like the two bright stars of the Lesser Bear when rendered auspicious by conjunction with the radiant moon. Qa'an ordered these pearls to be given to the man. But as they were very precious she said: 'This man does not know their worth and value: it is like giving saffron to a donkey. If he is commanded to come to the *ordu* to-morrow, he will there receive *balish* and clothing.' 'He is a poor man,' said Qa'an, 'and cannot bear to wait till to-morrow. And whither should these pearls go? They too will return to us in the end.

Give then and be not stingy when a beggar approaches, for
I have an attachment thereto, and there are no longer any
excuses.' [22]

At Qa'an's command she gave the pearls to the poor man, and he went away rejoicing and sold them for a small sum, round about two thousand dinars. The buyer was very pleased and thought to himself: 'I have acquired two fine jewels fit for a present to the Emperor. He is rarely brought such gifts as these.' He accordingly took the pearls to the Emperor, and at

[21] MWKA. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 149–50) she was the daughter of the ruler of the Bekrin, who gave her in marriage to Chingiz-Khan. After his death she became in accordance with the Mongol custom the wife of his son Ögedei, who 'loved her more than his other wives so that they were jealous of her'. (Cf. below, p. 218, where it is stated that he loved her 'more than all his other ladies'.) She was evidently a woman of considerable attractions. Chaghatai too was enamoured of her and having sought her hand too late refused the offer of any other of his father's ladies as a substitute. Ögedei had no children by her and this is perhaps the reason why she is not mentioned in the section on his wives and concubines (Blochet, 3–4).

[22] See the *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., IV, 67. (M.Q.)

that time Möge Khatun was with him. Qa'an took the pearls and said: 'Did we not say that they would come back to us? The poor man did not leave us disappointed but gained his end, and the pearls too have come back to us.' [169] And he distinguished the bearer with all kinds of favours.

> *Whoever says that the sea and the rain are the two things most resembling each other names thee and so praises both rain and sea.*

[xii] A stranger brought him two arrows and knelt down afar off. Qa'an commanded his attendants to inquire into the man's condition and find out what he wanted. The man said: 'I am by trade an arrowsmith. I have incurred a debt of seventy *balish* and that is the reason for the confusion of my affairs. If it is commanded that I be given this quantity of *balish* I will deliver ten thousand arrows every year.' Said the Hatim of the age: 'Unless this poor fellow's affairs are entirely distraught and he is in despair, he will not accept so contemptible an amount of *balish* in return for so many arrows. Let him be given a hundred *balish* so that he can mend his affairs.' When they brought the *balish* the old arrowsmith was incapable of carrying them. Qa'an smiled and commanded an ox-wagon to be brought also, and the old man loaded the *balish* on it and went his way.

> *And thou didst load him with wealth, wherewith the stages are lightened to him that crosseth the desert.*[23]

[xiii] At the time when he ordered the building of Qara-Qorum and the royal mind was busied with this scheme, he one day entered the treasury where he found one or two *tümen* of *balish*. 'What comfort,' he said, 'do we derive from the presence of all this money which has to be constantly guarded? Let the heralds proclaim that whoever wants some *balish* should come and take them.' Everybody set forth from the town and bent their steps towards the treasury. Master and slave, rich and poor, noble and base, greybeard and suckling, they all received what they asked for and, each having obtained an abundant

[23] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

share, left his presence uttering their thanks and offering up prayers for his well-being.

> *When our dirhems were gathered together one day, they were continually hastening along the roads of the good and lawful.*[24]

[xiv] There had been no agriculture in the neighbourhood of Qara-Qorum on account of the excessive cold, but during his reign they began to till the ground. [170] A certain person planted radishes and succeeded in growing a few, which he brought to Qa'an. Qa'an ordered the radishes and their leaves to be counted. The number came to a hundred and so he gave the man a hundred *balish.*

> If the heart and hand are sea and mine, it is the heart and hand of the king.[25]

[xv] Two parasangs to the east of Qara-Qorum a palace had been built in a nook upon a hillside, and he was wont to pass by on his way to and from his winter quarters so that offerings of food (which they call *tuzghu)* might be brought him from the town. And on this account they called the place Tuzghu-Baligh.[26] A certain person planted several almond and willow trees at the foot of this hill. No one had ever seen green trees in that region before, but these trees became verdant with foliage. Qa'an commanded that the man who planted them should be given a *balish* for each tree.

> *And the manner of the clouds when shedding their water was almost telling him that if he were generous of mien he would rain gold.*[27]

[xvi] When he seated himself upon the throne of kingship and the fame of his kindness and generosity was spread throughout the world, merchants began to come to his Court from every side, and whatever goods they had brought, whether good or

[24] From the *Hamasa.* (M.Q.)

[25] The opening line of a famous *qasida* by Anvari in praise of Sultan Sanjar.

[26] This is the T'u-su-hu ch'êng ('Tusqu City') which, according to the *Yüan shih,* was constructed in the tenth year of Ögedei's reign, i.e. 1238. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran,* 90.

[27] Badi'-az-Zaman of Hamadan. (M.Q.)

bad, he would command them to be bought at the ful And it usually happened that without casting a glance · wares or inquiring the price he would give them all away. merchants would then calculate to themselves: 'This much and that so much,' and for 'one' they would sa, and every shell they would call a pearl. When the mei had noted this custom of his, they used to open their ba then turn away; and in one or two days' time, thoug wares had been the Sea of Oman, there remained there one drop. The merchants would then return and state the of their goods; and it was Qa'an's command that whate price amounted to, his officials should raise it by 10 p *(dah-yāzdah)* and pay the money to the merchants. One officers and ministers of his Court represented to him that unnecessary to add this 10 per cent seeing that the price goods was already in excess of their real value. 'The d of the merchants with our treasury,' [171] said Qa'an, ' the purpose of their acquiring some benefit and securin advantage under our protection. And indeed these peop expenses to pay to your *bitikchis*, and it is their debt to yc I am discharging lest they depart from our presence suffered a loss.'

And why did the words of men withhold thee from well-doing? and who bars the way of him that encounters a wolf? [28]

[xvii] Some people from India brought him two tusks o. He asked what they wanted and was told 'Five hundred Without the slightest hesitation he ordered them to be this amount. His officers made a great outcry, asking h could give so large a sum for so contemptible a matter. ' over,' they said, 'these people come from an enemy co 'No one,' he replied, 'is an enemy of mine.'

So extravagantly does he strive to be generous that he causes enemies to receive the gifts of his hands.

[xviii] At a time when his brain was heated with c wine, in a time of debauch when he had grown merry,

[28] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

brought him a hat fashioned after the manner of the hats of Khorasan. He ordered his officials to write the man a draft for two hundred *balish*. They delayed affixing the *al-tamgha*, thinking he had specified such a sum because of the effect of the wine. On the next day at the same time the man again presented himself at the *ordu*. Qa'an's glance fell upon him and, the draft being laid before him, he commanded his secretaries to make it up to three hundred *balish*. There the matter rested; and every day he added a hundred *balish* until the total came to six hundred. Then summoning his emirs and scribes he asked them whether in this world of growth and decay there was anything that would endure for ever. They replied with one voice that there was not. Then, addressing himself to the Minister Yalavach, he said: 'That is wrong. Good repute and fame endure for ever in this world.' Then, turning to the scribes, he said: 'You are my real enemies; for it is your wish that no fair monuments or good reports should remain as a memorial to me. You think perhaps [172] that if I give someone a present when I am drinking it is because I am drunk; and that is why you delay payment and hold up what is due. Until one or two of you are punished for their deeds as a warning to their fellows, no good will ever come of you.'

Others than I obey the censorious, others than I hearken
to the reproachful.
I oppose those who reproach me for loving
her, nay I go farther.[29]

[xix] At the time when Shiraz had not yet submitted, a person came from that place and bending his knee spoke as follows: 'I have come from Shiraz, because of the fame of the Emperor's generosity and goodness; for I am a man with a family and have many debts and little backing; and my petition is for five hundred *balish*, which is the amount of my debt.' Qa'an ordered his officials to give him what he had asked for and to add the same amount again. They hesitated, saying, 'To add to what he asked for is extravagance, if not ruination.'

[29] The second of these two *baits* is ascribed in the *Dumyat-al-Qasr* to Abu-Bakr 'Ali al-Quhistani. (M.Q.)

He answered: 'Because of our fame this careworn wretch has traversed many mountains and plains and experienced hot and cold; and what he asked for will not meet the expenses of his journey hither and his return home, nor will it be sufficient to cover his debt. Unless it is added to it will be as though he returned without achieving his object. How can it be considered just that a poor man after travelling so great a distance should return disappointed to his family and children? Give him the full amount that I said without any delay or procrastination.' The poor man returned home rich and joyful, and with the Emperor there was left fair fame in this world.

When the petitioner comes from afar to sue him, he holds
it unlawful to refuse him when he has a large family.[30]

[xx] A poor man came to his Court with ten thongs tied to a stick. He opened his mouth in prayer [for Qa'an] and took his stand at a distance. The royal glance fell upon him, and when the officers inquired about his business he spoke as follows: "I had a kid in my household. I made its flesh the sustenance of my family, and out of its hide I fashioned thongs for the men-at-arms, which I have brought with me.' Qa'an took the thongs [173] and said: 'This poor fellow has brought us what is better than goats.' And he ordered him to be given a hundred *balish* and a thousand head of sheep. And he added that when all this was consumed he should come to him again and he would give him more.

In the morning his bounty was the harbinger of morning
showers and the messenger of provisions and victuals.

[xxi] A man brought him a hundred bone arrow-heads. He gave him the like number of *balish*.

[xxii] It was his custom to pass the three winter months in the pleasures of the chase, and during the remaining nine months he would sit down after breakfast on a throne outside his Court, where, heaped up in piles according to their kind, was every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the world; and these

[30] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, a *bait* of which has been quoted above, 169 [212]. (M.Q.)

he would scatter amongst Moslems and Mongols and cast before fortune-hunters and suppliants. And it would often happen that he would command persons of great size and bulk to take as many of the wares they chose as they could hold in their arms. One day he so commanded a person of this description and the man took as many costly garments as could be contained in the arms of several [normal] persons. As he went away one of the garments fell to the ground; and when he had taken the others home he returned to fetch the one he had dropped. 'How,' said Qa'an, 'can a man have the trouble of a journey for the sake of a single garment?' And he commanded him again to take as many as he could carry.

> *Were Hatim alive he would experience the generosity of thy*
> *hand; there is no doubt that he would be converted at thy hand.*

[xxiii] A man brought him two hundred whip handles made of the wood of the red willow *(ṭabarkhūn)* which they burn in those parts as firewood. He gave him a *balish* for every stick.

> *And seekers after boons came to him in crowds from every*
> *quarter craning their necks.*
> *And they obtained from his hands that which they sought,*
> *and he gave the glad tidings of his generosity in his*
> *wonted way.*[31]

[174] [xxiv] A person brought him three of these same sticks and he gave him half of that amount, i.e. a hundred *balish*.

[xxv] When Qara-Qorum was first being built he happened to be going through the market and passed by a shop in which jujubes were exposed for sale. He felt a craving for this fruit, and when he sat down in his Court he ordered Danishmand Hajib to take a *balish* from the treasury and go and buy some. Danishmand went to the greengrocer, took a trayful of jujubes and paid a quarter of the *balish*, which was double the value of the jujubes. When the tray was set before Qa'an he remarked: 'A *balish* is a very small price for so many jujubes.' Danishmand took the rest of the *balish* out of his sleeve and said: 'They cost but little.' Qa'an upbraided him roundly and said: 'When has

[31] From a *qasida* by Abu-'Ali al-Fadl b. Muhammad at-Tarasti. (M.Q.)

this man ever had a customer like us? Make up the pr
ten *balish* and give him them all.'

And name his benefits, which are not benefits but necklaces about the necks of men.[32]

[xxvi] He was going hunting and the house of the M
Yalavach happened to lie on his way. *Tuzghu* was br
forth and Yalavach told him the story of Solomon, the an
the locust's leg.[33] It was a pleasant spot; Qa'an had th
of wine in his head; and Möge Khatun, whom he loved
than all his other ladies, was beside him. He condescend
alight, and outside his tent he laid carpets of *nasij*[34] and br
(zarbaft) and strewed the inside with the bubbles of pearl
laces. And when they were seated upon their thrones he p
a great quantity of royal pearls over their heads.

And had I bestowed what was worthy of thee, I had bestowed upon thee all the auspicious stars of the heavens.[35]

And that day he watched many spectacles and gave a rob
a horse to all that were present in his service. And the ne
he ordered the Minister Yalavach to be honoured with all m
of valuable presents, [175] to which were there added
hundred *balish*.

His bounty extended to the flock and to the shepherds.

[xxvii] He commanded a hundred *balish* to be given to a
man. The Ministers of the Court said to one another: '
he know how many dirhems there are to so many *ba*
They took the hundred *balish* and scattered them where he w
pass by. And when he passed by he asked, 'What is t

[32] The Cadi Hasan Mu'ammal b. Khalil b. Ahmad al-Busti, a contem
of the Ghaznavids. (M.Q.)

[33] The ant brought Solomon a locust's leg as the choicest gift she
offer. The story is referred to by Sa'di in his *Gulistan*. See Arberry
and Beggars, 91 and 110.

[34] *nasij*, in Turkish *nasich*, the *nasic* of Rubruck and the *nasich* of Marco
was 'un tissu fait de soie et d'or'. See Pelliot, *Une ville musulmane dans l*
du Nord sous les Mongols, 269, n. 1.

[35] Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

They replied that it was the hundred *balish* for the poor man. 'It is a miserable amount,' he said. And so they doubled it and gave it all to the poor man.

Kiss his fingers, which are not fingers but the keys to provisions.[36]

[xxviii] A certain person had made a deal for a hundred *balish* with his emirs and treasurers. He gave orders that the man should be paid in cash. One day a poor man was standing at the door of Qarshi.[37] When the World-Emperor came out his glance fell upon the man and he thought: 'Is this perhaps the same person to whom the hundred *balish* are to be paid?' And he called his officials to account, saying, 'Days have passed since we commanded that this man's money was to be paid in cash without any delay or procrastination.' He waited where he stood, and the *qorchis*[38] went to the treasury to fetch the *balish*. Putting a hundred *balish* in the hems of their gowns they brought them to the poor man. 'What are these *balish*?' he asked, and they replied, 'They are the *balish* to be given in payment for your wares.' When they realized that he was someone else, they took the *balish* back and informed the Emperor. 'It was his good fortune,' he said. 'How can anything be returned that is taken out of our treasury?' And so they gave all the money to the poor man.

The claims of chivalry pass judgement on my wealth:
supererogatory acts of chivalry are obligatory duties
in the eyes of the generous.[39]

[xxix] An Indian woman with two children on her back was passing by the gate of Qarshi. Qa'an, who had just returned from the country, caught sight of her and ordered the treasurer to give her five *balish*. [176] He took them to her at once, but put one in the pocket of his cloak and gave her only four. The

[36] Ibn-Duraid. (M.Q.)

[37] *qarshi* in Mongol means 'palace'. The reference is perhaps to Qarshi-Suri. See below, p. 237.

[38] *qorchi* means lit. 'quiver-bearer'. On the institution of this office by Chingiz-Khan and the duties performed by the *qorchis* see the *Secret History*, §§ 124, 225 and 229.

[39] Ibn-Duraid. (M.Q.)

woman noticed that one was missing and pleaded with hi
give it to her. Qa'an asked him what the woman had
saying. He replied that she was a woman with a famil,
was uttering a prayer. Qa'an then asked, 'What famil
she?' 'Two small orphans,' replied the treasurer. V
Qa'an entered Qarshi he went to the treasury and ordere
woman to be summoned. Then he commanded he
take of every kind of clothing that pleased her fancy as i
embroidered garments as a rich and wealthy man would

Thou art a guardian of orphans in place of their fathers
so that we wish that we ourselves were orphans.[40]

[xxx] A falconer came to him with a falcon upon his
'What sort of falcon is that?' asked Qa'an. 'It is a sick
said the man, 'and its medicine is the flesh of fowls.' C
ordered his treasurer to give the man a *balish*. The treasurer
the man with him, gave a *balish* to a banker and from that
credited him with the price of several fowls. When Q
eyes next fell on the treasurer he asked him what had hap
about the falcon and the treasurer told him of his effici
Qa'an was angry and said: 'I have placed in thy han
the wealth of the world, which cannot be counted or calcu
and even so much is not sufficient for thee.' He went
'That falconer did not want a fowl, he only used that
pretext to seek something for himself. Everyone that com
us—those that say, "We shall become *ortaqs* and take *bal*
order to give interest," and those others that bring wares
those others again of every sort that come to us—we know
they have all fashioned a net in a different way, nor is it h
from us. But we wish everyone to have comfort and r
from us, and so they receive a share of our fortune, an
pretend not to know their circumstances.' And he comma
that several *balish* should be given to the falconer.

[177] [xxxi] A certain person was a bow-maker and
bad bows. He was so well known in Qara-Qorum th
one would pay a single barleycorn for his wares; and h

[40] From a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of the Caliph Ma'mun. (

no other trade. The bow-maker became poor and embarrassed in his affairs; and he could think of no other device than to take twenty bows, bind them to the end of a stick and take his stand at the gate of the *ordu*. When Qa'an came out he sent someone to ascertain who the man was. 'I am,' he said, 'that man whose bows no one will buy. I have no other trade and so my affairs have become embarrassed. I have brought twenty bows to give to Qa'an.' Qa'an ordered his attendants to take the bows and to give the man twenty *balish*.

[xxxii] A valuable jewelled belt was brought to Qa'an. He examined it and bound it round his waist. A stud became loose at one end of it and he gave it to one of his courtiers to get the stud fastened. The officer in question gave it to a goldsmith whose name was Rashid Sudagar. The goldsmith took the belt and sold it. And every day when they came to claim it he had some different excuse. When this procrastination had passed all bounds Qa'an sent a bailiff to make him give it back. He was forced to disclose how he had got rid of it, and on account of this impudence they bound him, bore him before Qa'an and explained what had happened. 'Although the crime is a great one,' said Qa'an, 'yet his resorting to such an action is a proof of weakness, impotence and poverty, for if his affairs had not been utterly confused he could not possibly have ventured upon such an act. Let him be freed and give him a hundred and fifty *balish* from the treasury so that he may mend his affairs and not presume to do the like again.'

> If thy kindness is of the substance of thy being, it is
> to the body a picture of the soul.
>
> *Only he gave abundantly that gave with apologies, and only he pardoned that was strong.*[41]

[xxxiii] Someone brought him an Aleppo[42] goblet. Those who were seated in the Court took it and showed it to him without bringing in the person that had brought it. 'He that brought

[41] Abul-Ghauth al-Manjibi. (M.Q.)

[42] *ḥalabī* 'of Aleppo' may refer to the metal of which the goblet was made: in the modern language it means 'tin-plate'. (V.M.)

[178] this,' said Qa'an, ' has endured hardships in order to so fine a jewel to us from so great a distance. Let him be two hundred *balish*.' The bearer of the goblet was seat the gate of the *ordu* wondering whether anyone had deli his message to the august ear of the Emperor. Suddenl chamberlains came out and told him the glad tidings c having been honoured; and on the same day they gave two hundred *balish*. The same day also there was talk Abyssinian servants, and Qa'an ordered his attendants to this man whether he was able to get servants for him. ' is just my business,' said the man, and Qa'an ordered the give him another two hundred *balish* for his travelling exp and also gave him letters-patent. The man never came again and no one knew his home or origin.

I give away my wealth, then I wish for a sister to it that
I may drink a second time and support it with another draught.

[xxxiv] It has never been heard that anyone left his pre disappointed except a person from Malin in Bakharz,[43] spread the tale far and wide that he had found a treasur would tell nobody where it was until his eyes had been brigh with the beauty of Qa'an. And he would repeat these wo every envoy proceeding in that direction. When his reached the august ear of Qa'an, he ordered him to be gi mount. When the man came into his presence and entere *ordu*, they discussed his statement, and he said: ' I had to some means of beholding the august countenance of Qa'a know of no treasure.' Since these words had the appearan impudence and everyone can imagine such actions, they pleased Qa'an and he showed signs of anger. Howeve pretended not to understand and said: ' You have seen face [44] and now you must go back.' And he gave order

[43] The district of Bākharz lay to the south of Jām, the present-day Tu Shaikh Jam. Mālin appears to be identical with the modern Shahr-i-N

[44] Cf. Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 160: ' The Mongols have a that when they have seen the king they say: " We have seen the king's face."' (V.M.)

the man was to be handed over to the messengers and sent back safely to his home.

> *And what are the clouds if they do not disperse from a town*
> *and if they are not ready to gather one day over a blame-*
> *worthy person?* [45]

[179] [xxxv] There was a person in Qara-Qorum to whose affairs weakness and poverty had found their way. He made a cup out of the horn of a mountain goat and sat upon the highway and waited. When he saw Qa'an's retinue in the distance he rose to his feet and held out the cup. Qa'an took it from him and gave him fifty *balish*. One of the scribes repeated the number of *balish* and Qa'an said: 'How long must I ask you not to deny my bounty and begrudge petitioners my property?' And to spite the censorious he commanded the sum to be doubled and with those *balish* made that poor man rich.

> O *king of the age and the time, who art lofty in greatness*
> *of state,*
> *Two foes that never meet together in one place amongst men*
> *are thy face and poverty.*[46]

[xxxvi] A Moslem had borrowed four *balish* of silver from an Uighur emir [47] and was unable to pay the money back. He therefore seized him and took him to task saying that he must forsake the faith of Mohammed *(upon whom be peace!)* and embrace the creed of idolatry, or else he should be disgraced in the middle of the market-place and receive a hundred blows of the bastinado. The Moslem, bewildered by their[48] threats, asked for three days' grace and went to Qa'an's audience-hall, where he held up a sign on the end of a stick. Qa'an ordered him to be brought forward. When he learnt of the poor man's position he ordered his creditors to be sent for, and they were prosecuted for the charge they had laid on the Moslem. As for the Moslem he was given a Uighur wife and house. And Qa'an commanded that the Uighur should receive a hundred blows of the

[45] Abu-Dufafa al-Misri. (M.Q.) [46] Abul-Wafa ad-Damiyati. (M.Q.)

[47] Reading *amīrī* with Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet (75) for the *umarā-yi* of the text.

[48] I.e. the Uighurs'.

bastinado in the middle of the market-place and that the Moslem should be given a hundred *balish*.

When wayfarers alight upon the seashore, their having drunk a first draught does not prevent them from drinking a second.

[xxxvii] There was a certain *sayyid* from Chargh near Bokhara who was called [180] the 'Alid of Chargh. He had received some *balish* from Qa'an for a commercial enterprise. When the time came to make a payment he said that he had already handed over the interest. The scribes asked for a statement in writing, a receipt and witnesses. He said that he had given the money to Qa'an in person. They brought him into the audience-hall. 'When did this happen?' asked Qa'an, 'and in whose presence? for I know thee not.' 'Thou wast alone that day,' said the man, 'and no one was present but myself.' Qa'an reflected a while and then said: 'His impudence is manifest and his mendacity and falseness evident; but if I call him to account for these words, those who hear will say, "The World-Emperor has gone back on his word." Let him be, but do not purchase from him what he has brought to sell to our treasury.' A number of merchants had come that day. They took the wares of each of them and Qa'an gave them all a greater sum than the actual price. Suddenly, he inquired again about the *sayyid,* saying, 'Where is he?' They brought him in and Qa'an said: 'Is thy heart sore because we commanded them not to take thy goods?' He at once began to lament and weep. Qa'an then asked, 'What is the price of thy goods?' 'Thirty *balish,*' replied the *sayyid,* 'and with that I shall be satisfied.' He gave him a hundred *balish*.

[xxxviii] A kinswoman of his came in and gazed upon his wives and concubines and examined their clothes and pearls and jewel-studded ornaments. The Minister Yalavach was present and Qa'an ordered him to bring in the pearls that were held in readiness. Twelve trays of pearls were then produced which he had purchased for eighty thousand dinars. He ordered them to be poured into her sleeves and the hem of her

skirt. And he said: 'Now that thou art sated with pearls how many glances wilt thou cast on others?'

The son of Armak trod pathways in kindness such that, had
Hatim passed along them, he would have lost his way.
And he was lofty in his resolve which abased the heads of
Simak and the horn of the twenty-fourth lunar mansion.[49]

[181] [xxxix] Someone brought him a pomegranate as a present. He commanded the seeds to be counted and each of those present to receive his share. And afterwards he gave the man a *balish* for every seed.

On this account the crowding of people at his gate was
like the crowding of seeds in a pomegranate.[50]

[xl] An Arabic-speaking apostate came to him and said: 'In the night I saw Chingiz-Khan in a dream and he said: "Tell my son to slay the Moslems, for they are evil."' After reflecting a while Qa'an asked whether he had spoken to him through an interpreter or in his own person. 'With his own tongue,' said the man. 'Dost thou know the Mongol and Turkish languages?' asked Qa'an. 'No,' said the man. 'Neither am I in any doubt,' said Qa'an, 'but that Chingiz-Khan knew no language save Mongolian. It is clear therefore that what thou sayest is nothing but lies.' And he ordered the man to be put to death.[51]

[xli] A Moslem from the Tangut region, from a place called Qara-Tash,[52] brought him a wagon-load of victuals in the hope

[49] From a *qasida* by Abu-Salih b. Ahmad of Nishapur in praise of Abu-Sa'd b. Armak. (M.Q.)

[50] From a *qasida* by al-Ghazzi, one *bait* of which has already been quoted above, I, 163 [i, 206]. (M.Q.)

[51] In Juzjani's version of this anecdote (Raverty, 1110–14) the denouncer of the Moslems is a *toyīn* or Buddhist priest who knew Turkish but not Mongol. For a theory that Chingiz-Khan may have had some knowledge of Chinese, see Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 159.

[52] Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 250, mentions Eriqaya (spelt Yarāqiyā, the Egrigaia of Marco Polo, i.e. Ning-hsia in Kan-su) and Qara-Tash as 'the best known towns' in the Tangut country, both being 'cities of a certain size, with numerous buildings'.

that he would receive permission to return [182] to country. Qa'an gave him a wagon-load of *balish* an free.

> The water in the sea is a tale of his nature; the clouds the month of Bahman are a tradition of his generosity.

[xlii] A man came one day in the expectation o Seeing that the guards were drunk he entered the chamber, stole a goblet and went his way. The next looked for the goblet and could not find it. Qa'an proclamation to be made that whoever brought the gol would not only be pardoned but any boon that he crav be granted. The next day the thief brought the gob 'Why didst thou commit this act?' asked Qa'an. ' said the man, 'that it might be a warning to the World not to trust his guards (whom they call *turqaq*).[53] there were more goods than that in the treasury if I there for the purpose of stealing.' Some of the emirs an example should be made of him so that no one e commit such an action. 'I have pardoned him,' sai 'How then can I proceed against him a second time? be a pity for such a spirited fellow to be killed, otherwis command his breast to be cut open to see what sort and liver he had considering they did not burst un circumstances.' And Qa'an gave him five hundred *b* many horses and garments, and made him the comm several thousand soldiers, and sent him to Khitai.

[xliii] When the crops were growing so much hail destroy them all. And at the time of this disaster there a scarcity of corn in Qara-Qorum that a single maund be obtained for a dinar. Qa'an ordered the heralds to that whoever had sown corn should not give way to for his crop had suffered no harm. If they watered t again, and tilled them, and there was no harvest, th

[53] The *turqaq* was the day-guard in contrast to the *kebte'ül* or r See Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476*, 163 duties see the *Secret History*, § 229.

receive the full equivalent from his treasury and granaries. It so happened that so much corn was reaped that year that there had never been such a crop and harvest since they had first begun to till the ground.

[183] [xliv] Three persons were brought to him for a crime they had committed. He ordered them to be put to death. When he left his audience-hall he came upon a woman scattering dust and crying out aloud. 'Why art thou doing this?' he asked. 'Because,' she replied, 'of those men whom thou hast ordered to be put to death, for one of them is my husband, another my son and the third my brother.' 'Choose one of them,' said Qa'an, 'and for thy sake he shall be spared.' 'I can find a substitute for my husband,' replied the woman, 'and children too I can hope for; but for a brother there can be no substitute.' He spared the lives of all three.[54]

[xlv] He was fond of watching wrestling and at first had a number of Mongols, Qifchaqs and Khitayans in his service. When Khorasan was subjugated he was told about the wrestlers of Khorasan and Iraq, and he sent a messenger to Chormaghun and ordered him to send one of these wrestlers. There was a man from Hamadan called Pahlavan Fila, and it was he that they sent. When he came to Qa'an the latter was well pleased with his shape and appearance, the stoutness of his body and the symmetry of his limbs; and he ordered him to wrestle with certain other wrestlers who were present. He beat them all, and none could throw him on his back. Besides other presents Qa'an gave him five hundred *balish*; and after a while he bestowed on him a beauteous, graceful and sweet-voiced maiden. It being the custom of wrestlers to abstain from sexual intercourse in order to conserve their strength, he did not lay hands on her but rather avoided her company. One day the girl went to the *ordu* and Qa'an said to her: 'How hast thou found this Tazik? Hast thou received thy full share of the joys of love?' For it

[54] This story is related word for word in the *Marzuban-Nama* of Sa'd-ad-Din Varavini written nearly 50 years before the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*. It is there told with reference to the tyrant Dahak. See my edition of the *Marzuban-Nama*, 16–17. (M.Q.)

is a standing joke with the Mongols to credit the Taziks with extraordinary sexual powers. As the poet says:

[184] *Vae tibi, o mi penis, nonne te pudet dedecorare me inter sodales,*
Inciviliter exsilire e sinu et pannum tollere de capite? [55]

'I have had no taste thereof,' said the girl, 'and we live apart.' Qa'an sent for Fila and questioned him about this state of affairs. 'I have become famous in the Emperor's service,' said the wrestler, 'and no one has vanquished me. If I enter the arena, my strength must not wane nor my rank be reduced in the Emperor's service.' 'My intention was,' said Qa'an, 'for you to beget children between you. From now on I exempt thee from the strife and contention of wrestling.'

Fila had a kinsman called Muhammad-Shah. A messenger was sent after him and he was ordered to bring several of the practitioners of that art. When they arrived Muhammad-Shah entered the field of contest with several wrestlers and beat them all. 'Wilt thou wrestle with Fila?' asked Qa'an. Muhammad-Shah at once knelt down and answered, 'Yes.' 'You are kinsmen,' said Qa'an, 'and there is brotherhood between you. Do not wrestle with one another like enemies.' And when some five days had passed, during which time he continued to view him with the eye of favour, he gave him some *balish*. At that moment seven hundred *balish* came in from somewhere, and he gave him these also.

Riches know of a surety, when they alight in thy hands,
that they are not in a lasting abode.[56]

And that which he bestowed upon them in pay, etc., in the way of clothes, furs and *balish*, was like running water, which might in no wise be cut off. And it would often happen that he would command them both to take as many as they could carry of the garments which had been thrown down in a heap in front of the *ordu*.

[185] [xlvi] One of my friends of pleasing speech told me the following story:

[55] Abus-Simt of Ra's-'Ain. (M.Q.)
[56] Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad of Tihama. (M.Q.)

During the reign of Sultan 'Ala-ad-Din Kai-Qubad[57] I was in Rum, and amongst my intimates was a person in embarrassed circumstances who earned his bread by buffoonery. Now at that time the tale of the bounty of the Emperor of the World and the Hatim of the Age was on all men's tongues, and it was said that in the East there sat a king of the Mongol race to whom earth and gold were one and the same thing.

> By the measure of his lofty resolve the cash of the seven planets was of low standard.

It occurred to the buffoon to travel thither, but he had neither mount nor travelling provisions. His friends all contributed together and bought him a donkey, on which he set forth. Three years later I was walking in the market place when I saw a gentleman with a mounted retinue and horses, mules, camels and Khitayan slaves upon his right and left. When he caught sight of me he at once dismounted from his horse, greeted me warmly and evinced great pleasure at seeing me again. He insisted upon carrying me off to his house, where, as is the manner of the courteous and the liberal, he showed me every attention, placing food and drink before me and dishes of gold and silver; while ranged in order around us stood singing-girls, minstrels and cup-bearers. In this manner he insisted on keeping me with him all that day, and the second and third days likewise; and I did not recognize him until he said, 'I am such-and-such a person, whose entire property was one donkey.' I asked what had befallen him, saying, '"*I saw thee foolish: since when art thou become wise?*"' 'When I left Rum,' he said, 'I went a-begging on that same donkey to the Emperor of the Face of the Earth. I had taken with me some dried fruit, and I sat down upon a hilltop in a place by which he would pass. His auspicious glance fell upon me from afar, and he sent someone to inquire into my circumstances. I described the feebleness of my state, telling how I had come from Rum on account of the fame of the Emperor's bounty and liberality and had set my

[57] The Seljuq ruler of Rūm or Asia Minor, 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kai-Qubād I (1219–36).

face to the road with a hundred thousand privations in order that the glance of the Emperor, who was the Lord of the Conjunction, [186] might fall upon my wretched self and my condition might be reversed and my horoscope rendered auspicious.

> My father—may his soul be filled with light because of me!—
> gave me a wise and famous piece of advice:
> Flee from the unfortunate like an arrow and take up thy abode
> in the street of the fortunate.

They held the tray of fruit before him and told him what I had said. He took two or three of the fruits and dropped them in a *suluq*.[58] Perceiving that his attendants inwardly objected to his action, he turned towards them and said: "This man has come hither from a distant land. He has passed through many sacred shrines and holy places and has attended on many great ones. To seek a blessing from the breathings of such a person is a profitable action. I therefore dropped the fruit in the *suluq* so that I could eat it at any time as dessert with my children and you might share the remainder among yourselves." With that he urged his horse on, and when he reached the *ordu*, he took the fruit out of the *suluq*, counted it carefully over and turning to Danishmand Hajib asked him where I was lodging. Danishmand said that he did not know, and the Emperor upbraided him roundly, saying, "What sort of Moslem art thou? A poor man comes to us from a great distance and thou art negligent of his eating and drinking, his waking and sleeping. Go this moment in person, seek him out and allot him an honourable place in thy own house. But in any case seek him out." I had taken up lodgings near the market place. People came running from right and left inquiring after me and finally one of them found me and bore me off to Danishmand's house. The next day, when Qa'an had taken his seat, he saw a wagon-load of *balish* being brought in to the treasury from the conquest of a town in Manzi. The number of *balish* was seven hundred. Qa'an said to Danishmand Hajib: "Call that person." When I appeared he gave them to me and encouraged

[58] A Turkish word meaning 'vessel for holding water'.

me with other promises. And so I received all those *balish* and my affairs from the straits of poverty entered the broad plain of prosperity.'

> *And when there came to him as a suppliant the lord of sheep and camels,*
> *Thou sawest him in his courtyard the lord of Khawarnaq and Sadir.*[59]

[xlvii] A Mongol called Minquli Böke [60] had a flock of sheep. One night when a cold wind was blowing a wolf fell upon his flock and destroyed the greater part of it. The next day the Mongol came to Court and told of the flock and the wolf saying that a thousand head of his sheep had been lost. Qa'an asked where the wolf had gone. It so happened that a troupe of Moslem wrestlers brought in a live wolf with its jaws bound. 'I will buy that wolf from you for a thousand *balish*,' said Qa'an. And to the owner of the sheep he said: 'Thou wilt derive no advantage or benefit from the killing of this animal.' And he ordered his officers to give the man a thousand head of sheep and said: 'We will release this wolf so that he can inform his friends of what has happened and they may leave this region.' When they released the wolf the lion-like hounds of the dog-keepers ran after it and tore it to pieces. Qa'an was angry and ordered the dogs to be put to death for killing the wolf. He entered the *ordu* in a pensive and melancholic state of mind and turning to his ministers and courtiers he said: 'I set that wolf free because I felt a weakness in my bowels and I thought that if I saved a living creature from destruction God Almighty would grant that I too should be spared. Since the wolf did

[59] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr of Khorazm in praise of Abu-'Ali b. Simjur. (M.Q.) Khawarnaq and Sadīr were the names of two palaces said to have been built for the Sassanian monarch Bahrām Gūr (Fitzgerald's 'Bahrám, that great Hunter') by the Arab king of Hira, Nu'mān b. Mundhir.

[60] Reading MYNQWLY BWKA for the SNQWLY BWKA of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 83) has MYNΓWLY BWKH. Minquli appears to be Turkish—Ming-Qulï, from *ming* 'thousand' and *qul* 'slave'. Böke, which is Mongol and stands in apposition, means 'the Wrestler'. Cf. the name of Möngke's youngest full brother, Arïgh Böke, Arïgh the Wrestler.

not escape from the dogs, neither perhaps shall I come forth from this danger.' A few days later he passed away.

Now it is not concealed from the wise and discriminating that kings are snatched up and carried off by God and that they receive divine inspiration. And that story is like the one that is told in the . . .

When Ma'mun sent Tahir b. al-Husain and 'Ali b. 'Isa b. Mahan to Baghdad to make war on his brother Muhammad Amin,[61] [188] at the same time Muhammad Amin was saying to Hammad Rawiya, who was one of his courtiers: 'To-day we shall walk abroad and drink and be merry.' They fetched a boat and embarked in it. Now Amin had a slave girl called Qabiha, who had a yellow tooth, and the perfection of her beauty depended upon that tooth. He took her with him on to the boat. And he had a goblet made of fiery red rubies and fashioned in the shape of a vessel, and in his eyes it was worth all the fair things of this world and all the contents of his treasury. When the company had become heated with wine and all had grown merry, Qabiha stood up for some purpose and, her foot catching in her skirt, she fell upon the goblet and broke it; and her teeth striking the boat, the yellow tooth, which was the apple of Muhammad's eye, was likewise broken. Muhammad Amin turned to Hammad and said, 'It is all over with us.' Hammad, as is the wont of courtiers, uttered a deprecatory prayer and said, 'Far be it from thee!' And they began to argue about it. Suddenly a voice from above cried out, "*The matter is decreed concerning which ye inquire.*"'[62] 'Didst thou hear?' said Muhammad Amin to Hammad; but he turned a deaf ear. Again Amin heard those words, uttered in a loud and terrible voice, and he said to Hammad, 'There is no longer any doubt. Arise and see to thy own affairs, for

We shall not meet again till Judgement Day.'

[61] The Caliphs Amīn (809–13) and Ma'mūn (813–33) were sons of the famous Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809). In the civil war between the brothers 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, as is pointed out by M.Q., was actually the commander of Amin's forces: he engaged the forces of Ma'mun under Tāhir b. al-Husain at Ray and was slain in battle.

[62] Koran, xii, 41.

lviii] An old man from the neighbourhood of Baghdad
: and sat down in the roadway. When the Emperor passed
ie saw the old man standing in his way, and he had him
moned before him. 'Why art thou standing in the road?'
l Qa'an. 'I am old and poor,' replied the other, 'and I
ten daughters, and because of my poverty I cannot find
ands for them.' 'Thou art from Baghdad,' said Qa'an.
ıy does not the Caliph give thee something and help thee
ıd husbands for thy daughters?' [189] 'Whenever I ask
Caliph for alms,' said the old man, 'he gives me ten dinars
ıld, and I need that amount for my own expenses.' Qa'an
orders for him to be given a thousand *balish* of silver. His
iers suggested that a draft should be made on the land of
ai, but Qa'an ordered him to be paid in cash from the
ıry. When they brought the *balish* from the treasury and
ıem before the old man, he said: 'How shall I carry all
balish from hence? I am old and feeble and can lift up
one *balish*, or two at most.' Qa'an ordered his officers to
him mounts and bags and the means to take the *balish* with
But the old man said: 'I cannot reach my own country
with so many *balish*, and if anything happens to me on
ay my daughters will be deprived of the Emperor's bounty.'
n then ordered that two Mongols should go along to guard
and the money until they reached friendly *(il)* country and
ld bring him and the *balish* safely through. The Mongols
ted with him but he died upon the way. They informed
mperor, who asked: 'Did he not indicate his house and
here his daughters lived?' They replied that he had done
'Then take those *balish* to Baghdad,' said Qa'an, 'enter his
: and give them to his daughters. And say, "The Emperor
ent these *balish* as alms so that husbands may be found for
daughters."'

ix] The daughter of one of his courtiers was being sent to
ıusband and a casket of pearls carried by eight persons had
brought for her dowry. When the casket was borne before
n he was engaged in carousing. He ordered the lid to be
off the casket and distributed all the pearls, the value of

which varied between one dinar and two sixths of a dinar, among those present. It was represented to him that he had bestowed that casket upon such-and-such a maiden as her dowry. 'To-morrow,' he said, 'you shall give her that other casket which is the fellow of this one.'

[1] The *atabeg* of Shiraz,[63] sent his brother Tahamtan to Qa'an and among [190] the presents he brought were two carboys filled with pearls, which are held in high esteem amongst them in accordance with the saying, '*Every party rejoiceth in what it hath.*' When this was represented to Qa'an and he learnt that these gems were of value in the eyes of him that brought them, he ordered his attendants to bring in a long casket filled with royal pearls. The envoy and all present were dumbstruck at the sight. Qa'an gave orders for the cup that was being passed round in that banquet to be filled with these pearls; and they were thus all distributed among those present.

> When thou bringest a drop of water to the deep sea,
> this judgement resembles madness.

We have described something of that which the Necessarily Existent caused to be present in his nature in the way of clemency, forgiveness, justice, generosity and the teachings of the religion of God; and this we have done that it may be known that in every age there is a Lord of the Conjunction, such as in former times were Hatim and Nushirvan and others, and their fame will shine forth like the fountain of the sun until the end of time, and tales and traditions will be told and recorded of them. '*And in every age there is a Sodom and a *Jandab.*'[64] And had we treated this subject exhaustively it would have led to prolixity; we have therefore limited ourselves to this brief summary. And we shall tell one story of his violence, fury, severity and awesomeness, so that it may be known not only how his kindness and bounty would flow but how his vengeance and rigour would chasten.

[63] This was Abu-Bakr (1226–60), the patron of the poet Sa'di.

[64] JNDB. This word defeated M.Q. The whole phrase is clearly some kind of proverbial saying.

He had a day of hardship on which there were misfortunes for mankind, and a day of ease on which there were blessings for mankind.
On the day of generosity there rained dew from his hands, and on the day of severity there rained blood from his hands.[65]

Among the tribe of . . .,[66] who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that [191] it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they actually delivered up to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go thither and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all the girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens, each of whom affected men's hearts in a different way, were thus assembled.

When her beauty removes the veil from its face, the moon of '*O for shame!*' is overcast.

And first he ordered those who were daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the *ordu*, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers. As for those that still remained it was decreed that all present, whether Mongols or Moslems, might

[65] Husain al-Mutayyar al-Asadi. (M.Q.)

[66] There is a blank in A and B. D has 'the Oirat', which does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote (Blochet, 84) the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.

carry them off. And their fathers, brothers, relatives, kinsmen and husbands looked on and were unable to breathe or move their tongues. And this is an absolute proof of his rigid enforcement of his orders and of the obedience of his army.

[XXXIII]

OF THE HOUSES AND DWELLING-PLACES OF QA'AN

AFTER the Hatim of the Age and the Ruler of the World had been established on the throne of kingship and, his mind set at rest regarding the campaign against Khitai, had proceeded in triumph to the great *ordu* of his father, [192] he bestowed his own place of residence, which was in the region of the Emil, upon his son Güyük, choosing for his [new] residence and the capital of the kingdom a place in the region of the river Orqon and the Qara-Qorum mountains. There had previously been no town or village in that place except for the remains of a wall called Ordu-Baligh. At the time of his accession a stone was found outside the ruins of the fortress on which there was an inscription stating that the founder of that place was Buqu Khan. (This matter has been described in detail in the chapter on the land of the Uighur.[1]) The Mongols named it Ma'u-Baligh,[2] and Qa'an caused a town to be built on it, which they called Ordu-Baligh, though it is better known as Qara-Qorum. Hither artisans of every kind were brought from Khitai, and likewise craftsmen from the lands of Islam; and they began to till the ground. And because of Qa'an's great bounty and munificence people turned their faces thitherward from every side, and in a short space of time it became a city.

Above the town a garden was built for Qa'an with four gates, one for the passage of the World-Ruling Emperor, another for his children and kinsmen, another again for the princesses, and a fourth for the entrance and egress of the populace. And in

[1] See above, Chapter VII.

[2] I.e. 'Bad Town', the name given by the Mongols to Bamiyan. See above, p. 133.

the midst of that garden Khitayan artisans reared up a castle with doors like the gates of the garden; and inside it a throne having three flights of steps, one for Qa'an alone, another for his ladies and a third for the cupbearers and table-deckers; and on the right and left houses for his brothers and sons and the *turqaq*, [the walls of these houses being] painted with pictures. And in the quarters of the cupbearers they placed vats which could not be moved because of their weight and other utensils in like proportion, besides [193] elephants, camels, horses and their attendants in appropriate numbers, so that when a public feast was held they might lift up the various beverages. And all the utensils were of gold and silver and studded with jewels. Twice in the year would Qa'an alight in this pleasant abode. Whenever the sun entered the sign of Aries, and the world was glad, and the face of the earth, because of the weeping of the clouds, smiled and shone forth through the mouths of the flowers, he would feast for a month in this residence Venus-like in the manner of the sun; and as the bounty of the rain reaches both herbs and trees, so both great and small took part in the feasting, and Poverty took flight from that assembly.

> *The slowness of the rain in reaching them did not hurt the people of the frontier seeing that among them was Yusuf the son of Muhammad.*

And when the beauty of spring had reached its culmination and the herbs had grown to their full height, he would betake himself to another pleasance which had been raised up by Moslem engineers to despite the Khitayans and was called Qarshi-Suri. It was a very tall castle filled with all kinds of many-coloured, jewel-studded embroideries and carpets. In the entrance was placed a throne full worthy of the place, and in the banqueting-hall were jasper vases, and ewers studded with pearls, and other utensils in keeping with them. Here he would feast for forty days. And in front of the castle there were pools of water (which they call *köl*),[3] wherein many water fowls used to gather. And he would watch the hunting of these birds and afterwards

[3] *köl* is the normal Turkish word for 'lake'.

would give himself up to the joys of drinking and spread the carpet of bounty, which was never rolled up. And every day [194] without cease he dispensed his bounty to all and sundry as long as he abode in that place; and as for conviviality and constant application to pleasure it was as though he had hearkened with the ear of acceptance to the advice of Quhistani:[4]

Enjoy this world, for its seasons are transitory, and the life of a young man (may thou have the joy thereof!) lasteth at most for a moment.
And hasten to take an abundant share of pleasure, for a share that has passed will not return nor can it be confined.
And spend the time of good fellowship in good fellowship, and be awake to thy pleasure, for there is no pleasure to him that sleepeth.
And do not preoccupy thyself to-day with the cares of to-morrow, but bid adieu to the tale of to-morrow, for to concern thyself therewith is folly.
The spirit is like a lamp, and wine is its oil, so be off with thee—this is advice to be accepted.
I shall tell thee of myself and what I have experienced, not traditions handed down from Anas through Qatada.[5]

And when the life of spring had reached its maturity and the day thereof its decline, he would return to his summer residence. And since the garden and palace in the town lay upon his way, he would reside there for several days in his wonted manner carrying out the commandments of God *(amr-i-ma'rūf)* and would thence move on towards his destination. And when he left there he would go to a small palace which he had built on a hilltop three miles from the town, through which he also passed in returning from his winter residence. On both occasions he would amuse himself for four or five weeks in this spot, and offerings of food would be brought out to him from the town. And from thence in the summer he would go into the mountains, where there would be erected for him a Khitayan pavilion, whose walls were made of latticed wood, while its ceiling was

[4] I.e. Abu-Bakr 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Quhistani of Ghazna, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

[5] Anas b. Malik was a Companion of the Prophet and one of the most prolific of the traditionists. Qatāda, who died in 117/735–6, was another traditionist.

of gold-embroidered cloth, and it was covered all over with white felt: this place is called Shira-Ordu.[6] In these parts there are cool waters and much grass. Here he would remain until the sun entered Virgo and there was a fall of snow. And here [195] his bounty would flow more freely than in his other pleasances. And departing from hence he would arrive at his winter residence by the end of autumn, which is the beginning of their winter. There he would make merry for three months, and during these months his generosity and munificence were under some restraint and did not flow so freely. There too were fulfilled these verses of double meaning:

Between us and the rose has passed a long-lasting
cold as though good omens had been bidden in ill.
The spring and its beauty have been veiled with snow just
as peacock chicks are concealed in white eggs.[7]

And praise be to God Almighty, these dwelling-places are to-day adorned by the blessed footsteps of that mighty king and glorious emperor, the Nushirvan of the Age, Mengü Qa'an, from the shadow of whose statesmanship and justice the world is made resplendent and every place in every clime turned into a rose-garden. May God Almighty grant him endless years of life, his justice ever increasing and his word ever obeyed, and strengthen through him the hand of the True Faith!

[XXXIV]

OF TÖREGENE[1] KHATUN

WHEN the decree of God Almighty had been executed and the Monarch of the World, the Hatim of the Age, Qa'an, had

[6] Reading ŠYRH ARDW with E. The text has SYR ARDW and Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 49) SRH ARDW, i.e. apparently Sira-Ordu. It is the Sira-Orda of Carpini and the Syra-Orda of Benedict the Pole, who has left a detailed description of it. See Rockhill, 38.

[7] Abu-Mansur Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Qa'ini, whose *laqab* was Buzurjmihr. He was a poet at the court of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

[1] TWRAKYNA. The Döregene of the *Secret History*. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 3) she belonged to the Uhaz-Merkit and had or had

passed away, Güyük, his eldest son, had not returned[2] from the campaign against the Qifchaq, and therefore in accordance with precedent the dispatch of orders and the assembling of the people took place at the door of the *ordu* or palace of his wife, Möge Khatun, who, in accordance with the Mongol custom, had come to him from his father, Chingiz-Khan. But since Töregene Khatun was the mother of his eldest sons [196] and was moreover shrewder and more sagacious than Möge Khatun, she sent messages to the princes, i.e. the brothers and nephews of Qa'an, and told them of what had happened and of the death of Qa'an, and said that until a Khan was appointed by agreement someone would have to be ruler and leader in order that the business of the state might not be neglected nor the affairs of the commonweal thrown into confusion; in order, too, that the army and the court might be kept under control and the interests of the people protected.

Chaghatai and the other princes sent representatives to say that Töregene Khatun was the mother of the princes who had a right to the Khanate; therefore, until a *quriltai* was held, it was she that should direct the affairs of the state, and the old ministers should remain in the service of the Court, so that the old and new *yasas* might not be changed from what was the law.

Now Töregene Khatun was a very shrewd and capable woman, and her position was greatly strengthened by this unity and concord. And when Möge Khatun shortly followed in the wake of Qa'an, by means of finesse and cunning she obtained control of all affairs of state and won over the hearts of her relatives by all kind of favours and kindnesses and by the sending of gifts and presents. And for the most part strangers and

not been the wife of Dayir-Üsün, the ruler of that tribe. In the chapter on the Merkit (Khetagurov, 116) she is also stated to have been the wife of Dayir-Üsün. On the other hand, according to the *Secret History*, § 198, her first husband had been Qodu, the eldest son of Toqto'a, the ruler of the Uduyit-Merkit. According to the *Yüan shih* (quoted by Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [193]) she was not a Merkit but a Naiman.

[2] Reading *nuzūl na-karda* with E for the *nuzūl karda* of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 232) has *furū na-y-āmada*.

kindred, family and army inclined towards her, and submitted themselves obediently and gladly to her commands and prohibitions, and came under her sway. *The Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'Hearts were formed to love them that use them well and to hate them that use them ill.'* And all manner of men bent their steps towards her; while Chinqai [3] and the other ministers of Qa'an continued to perform their duties as before, and the governors on every side remained at their posts.

Now during the lifetime of Qa'an there had accumulated in her breast a feeling of hatred towards certain of the courtiers, and the wound had grown deep. When she was entrusted with affairs of state, and her position had grown strong, and none dared quarrel or dispute with her, she determined to act at once, and without losing time [197] or missing an opportunity, in accordance with the hemistich:

Make haste, for time is a trenchant sword,[4]

to seek relief from her pain by avenging herself on each of these persons. She accordingly sent messengers to Khitai to fetch the Minister Yalavach and also tried to lay hands on the Emir Chinqai. Chinqai, however, with the discernment of understanding perceived that she had something else in mind; and before her plan could be realized he set his face to the road and went his own way. And hastening to Köten,[5] her son, he sought his protection and so saved his life by running away. As for Yalavach, when the messengers reached him, he welcomed them with marks of respect and honour. And every day he showed them fresh attentions and civilities so that in this way two or three days passed by. And all this time he was secretly preparing the means of flight by getting together horses etc. At last on the third night, which in fact was the day of his fortune,

[3] Reading ČYNQAY for the JYNQAY of the text. He is Carpini's 'Chingay the prothonotary'. For an account of his career and his origins see Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist*, 34–8.

[4] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

[5] KWTAN. He is called K'uo-tuan, i.e. Ködön, in the *Yüan shih*. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 71.

he put the messengers to sleep [6] and departed to Köten together with a few horsemen, and so escaped from their hands.

> *And I returned to Fahm though I had not expected to return—*
> *and how often have I escaped from the like of them, while*
> *they whistled* [*impotently*]! [7]

And when both notables reached Köten, and sought refuge with him, and made his threshold their asylum, they were embraced with his favour. Töregene Khatun sent a messenger to demand their return, and Köten replied: 'The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its fury.[8] These too have sought sanctuary with us and touched the skirt of our authority. To send them back is forbidden by the code of magnanimity and humanity and is remote from the practice of generosity and liberality: I should find excuse with neither far nor near, [198] neither Turk nor Tazik. A *quriltai* is shortly to be held: let their crimes and offences be brought to the attention of the family and the emirs, and let them receive whatever punishment they deserve.' She sent messengers several times again, and Köten excused himself in the same manner. When she realized that their return was impossible and that he would in no wise send them back, she endeavoured to persuade the Emir 'Imad-al-Mulk Muhammad of Khotan, who had been one of the ministers of Qa'an, to turn to account the intimate terms on which he had been with them in former times by making a statement regarding them and fabricating some falsehood so that by that pretext she might cast a stumbling-block in their path and on that excuse they might be punished at the great *quriltai*. But since loyalty and generosity, which are amongst the most essential and the most beautiful of the characteristics of

[6] By making them drunk. The story is told in greater detail in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 233–4).

[7] Ta'abbata Sharran. (M.Q.)

[8] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 41, n. 3, quotes this passage as an indication of Juvaini's use of Mongol sources, the same image being employed by the sons of Sorqan Shira in reproaching their father for his harsh words towards the fugitive Temüjin. See the *Secret History*, § 85: 'If a *turumtai* [the name of a small bird of prey, perhaps the Merlin] causes a little bird to take refuge in a bush, the bush saves the little bird.' See Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, 313.

the great and are as non-existent in this present age as the *simurgh* [9] or the philosophers' stone, had gained mastery of his being, he refused to consent to the shame and disgrace of slander and calumny and made his body the prisoner of free will until God Almighty, because of his pure faith, delivered him from that frightful gulf and the like thereof, and at the Court of Güyük Khan he enjoyed even greater authority than in the previous reign.

And when the Emir Mas'ud Beg observed this state of affairs he too thought it inadvisable to remain in his own territory and saw fit to hasten to the Court of Batu.

And Qara Oghul [10] and the wives of Chaghatai sent Qurbagha [11] Elchi together with the Emir [199] Arghun [12] to seize Körgüz.[13]

And at that time there was a woman called Fatima, who had acquired great influence in the service of Töregene Khatun and to whose counsel and capability were entrusted all affairs of state. She exalted 'Abd-ar-Rahman and sent him to Khitai in place of Mahmud. An account of this woman will be given separately in a subsequent chapter.[14]

And when Emir Arghun brought Körgüz to Töregene Khatun she imprisoned him because of an ancient grudge and sent the Emir Arghun to Khorasan in his stead.

And everyone sent ambassadors in every direction and broadcast drafts and assignments; and upon every side they attached themselves to parties and followed their instructions—all save

[9] The name of a fabulous bird which appears in the *Shahnama* as the foster-parent of Rustam's father Zāl.

[10] I.e. Prince Qara. On Qara or Qara-Hülegü, the grandson and first successor of Chaghatai, see below, pp. 273–4.

[11] Reading QWRBQA for the QWRBQAY of the text, which elsewhere has QRBQA (II, 230 and 239) and QWRBΓA (II, 243). Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 57) has QWR BWQA, which would appear to be a compound name with *buqa* 'bull' as the second element. I have however taken the QWRBQA or QWRBΓA of Juvaini as standing for the Turkish *qurbaqa* 'frog'.

[12] On Arghun see below, II, Chapters XXX and XXXI.

[13] On Körgüz see below, II, Chapter XXVIII.

[14] Chapter XXXV.

Sorqotani Beki and her sons, who did not swerve one hair's breath from the *yasa* and law of their ordinances.

As for Töregene Khatun she dispatched ambassadors to the East and the West of the world and to the North and South thereof to summon the sultans and emirs, the grandees and governors, and to bid them to the *quriltai*.

Meanwhile Güyük had not yet returned and his place seemed empty. In accordance with the saying, '*He that is strong taketh, and the strength of the free man is in his abstinence*', Otegin thought to seize the Khanate by force and violence. With this intention he set out for the *ordu* of Qa'an. When he drew near, Mengli Oghul,[15] a grandson [of Chingiz-khan], approached him with his retinue and troops and made him repent of his design. He made use of the pretence that he was mourning some disaster and excused himself in this manner. In the meantime there came tidings of the arrival [200] of Güyük at his *ordu*, which lies on the bank of the Emil; whereupon his repentance increased.

And when Güyük came to his mother, he took no part in affairs of state, and Töregene Khatun still executed the decrees of the Empire although the Khanate was settled upon her son. But when two or three months had passed and the son was somewhat estranged from his mother on account of Fatima, the decree of God the Mighty and Glorious was fulfilled and Töregene passed away.

[XXXV]

OF FATIMA KHATUN

AT the time of the capture of the place in which there lies the Holy Shrine[1] of 'Ali ar-Riza *(upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and benedictions!)*, she was carried off into captivity. It so chanced that she came to Qara-Qorum, where she was a

[15] I.e. Prince Mengli (MNKLY). This is apparently Melik (see below, ii, 573, and n. 73), a son of Ögedei, who appears in the *Yüan shih* both as Mie-li (Meli[k]) and Ming-li (*Mingli[k]). See Hambis, *op. cit.*, 72, n. 7.

[1] I.e. the modern Meshed.

procuress in the market; and in the arts of shrewdness and cunning the wily Delilah could have been her pupil. During the reign of Qa'an she had constant access to the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun; and when times changed and Chinqai withdrew from the scene, she enjoyed even greater favour, and her influence became paramount; so that she became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets, and the ministers were debarred from executing business, and she was free to issue commands and prohibitions. And from every side the grandees sought her protection, especially the grandees of Khorasan. And there also came to her certain of the *sayyids* of the Holy Shrine, for she claimed to be of the race of the great *sayyids*.

When Güyük succeeded to the Khanate, a certain native of Samarqand, who was said to be an 'Alid,[2] one Shira, the cup-bearer of Qadaq,[3] hinted that Fatima had bewitched Köten, [201] which was why he was so indisposed. When Köten returned, the malady from which he was suffering grew worse, and he sent a messenger to his brother Güyük to say that he had been attacked by that illness because of Fatima's magic and that if anything happened to him Güyük should seek retribution from her. Following on this message there came tidings of Köten's death. Chinqai, who was now a person of authority, reminded Güyük of the message, and he sent an envoy to his mother to fetch Fatima. His mother refused to let her go saying that she would bring her herself. He sent again several times, and each time she refused him in a different way. As a result his relations with his mother became very bad, and he sent the man from Samarqand[4] with instructions to bring Fatima by force if his mother should still delay in sending her or find some reason for refusing. It being no longer possible to excuse herself she agreed to send Fatima; and shortly afterwards she passed away. Fatima was brought face to face with Güyük, and was kept naked, and in bonds, and hungry and thirsty for many days and nights; she was plied with all manner of violence, severity,

[2] I.e. a descendant of the Caliph 'Ali.

[3] On Qadaq see below, p. 259 and n. 37.

[4] The text has *Samarqant*, i.e. apparently *Samarqandī*.

harshness and intimidation; and at last she confessed to the calumny of a slanderous talebearer and avowed her falseness. Her upper and lower orifices were sewn up, and she was rolled up in a sheet of felt and thrown into the river.

> One thou raisest up and givest him a kingdom, and then
> thou castest him into the sea to the fishes.[5]

And everyone that was connected with her perished also. And messengers were sent to fetch certain persons who had come from the Shrine and claimed to be related to her; and they suffered many annoyances.

This was the year in which Güyük Khan went to join his father, [202] and it was then that 'Ali Khoja of Emil[6] accused Shira of the same crime, namely of bewitching Khoja. He was cast into bonds and chains and remained imprisoned for nearly two years, during which time by reason of all manner of questioning and punishment he despaired of the pleasure of life. And when he recognized and knew of a certainty that this was the punishment of '*Here is our money returned to us,*'[7] he resigned himself to death and surrendering his body to the will of Fate and Destiny confessed to a crime which he had not committed. He too was cast into the river, and his wives and children were put to the sword.

> He slew his grandfather, and he himself did not remain
> here, nor did the world read his proclamation.[8]

When in that same year, in a happy and auspicious hour, the Khanate had been settled upon Mengü Qa'an, he set * Bürilgitei[9] over the region of Besh-Baligh. And when Khoja was brought to the Qa'an, a messenger was sent to 'Ali Khoja, who was one of his courtiers. Some other person brought the same accusation

[5] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1003, l. 734.

[6] I.e. the town of Emil named after the river: Carpini's Omyl.

[7] Koran, xii, 65.

[8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1277, l. 99.

[9] The text has here *BRNKWTAY* and elsewhere (III, 53 and 57) BRNKWTAY, for which I read BRLKTAY in view of the spelling of his name in the *Yüan shih*, viz. Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei). Professor Cleaves, in a letter dated the 5th December, 1954, was good enough to supply me with translations of the two passages—*Yüan shih*, 3 (*ts'e* 2), 2b5–6 and 8a1-2—in which this

against him, and Mengü-Qa'an ordered him to be beaten from the left and the right until all his limbs were crushed; and so he died. And his wives and children were cast into the baseness of slavery and disgraced and humiliated.

> Approve not for another what thou approvest not for thyself.

And the voice of Destiny cried out saying, '*Thy hands were binding while thy mouth was blowing.*'

> If it be silk, thou hast woven it thyself, and if it is a
> load of thorns, thou hast sown them thyself.[10]

And the Lord of the Prophets (upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and peace!) hath truly said: 'Thou hast slain and shalt be slain; and thy slayer shall be slain.' And it was said of old:

> *There is no hand but the hand of God is above it, and there*
> *is no tyrant who is not tormented by a greater tyrant.*

[203] And it is not hidden from the wise and intelligent man, who looks at these matters in the light of understanding and reflects and ponders upon them, that the end of treachery and the conclusion of deceit, which spring from evil ways and wicked pretensions, is shameful and the termination thereof unlucky. And fortunate is he that can take warning from another: '*happy is he that is advised by what befalleth others.*'

> *And had they known what iniquity brings upon them that*
> *practise it, [it had been well] but they looked not*
> *to the consequences.*[11]

God preserve us from the like positions and from trespassing into the region of deliberate offences!

commander is mentioned. The first reference is *sub anno* 1251: 'The princes [of the blood] Yeh-su Mang-k'o (Yesü Möngke), Pu-li (Büri), Hou-che (Qoja) and others not having arrived [even] after the appointed time, Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei) was dispatched to deploy (lit. "lead") troops to prepare against them.' The second reference, *sub anno* 1257, runs as follows: 'The army of the marshal Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei) [went forth] from Teng-chou and occupied the region and crossed the Han-chiang.' In a subsequent letter, dated the 4th February, 1955, Professor Cleaves suggests that Bürilgidei is a derivative of the Mongol word *bürilgi* and means 'Dissipator' or 'Destroyer'.

[10] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 122, l. 1042.

[11] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

[XXXVI]

OF THE ACCESSION OF GÜYÜK KHAN TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE

In the year in which Qa'an was to bid farewell to the comforts of this life and to forswear the pleasures of this vile world, he had sent for Güyük, bidding him turn the reins of homecoming and direct his will and desire towards hurrying to his presence. In compliance with this command Güyük pressed the spurs of haste and loosened the bridle of speed; but when the time was at hand when the touch of plague that arises from length of distance was to have been expelled by closeness of propinquity and the veil of absence and exile removed, Fate's inevitable decree was carried out, and no respite was given for those thirsting in the desert of separation to quench their thirst with a drop of the limpid water of reunion or for father and son to anoint their eyes with the collyrium of each other's beauty. When Güyük received tidings of that irremediable calamity he saw fit to make still greater haste, and grief for what had happened did not suffer him to halt until he reached the Emil. Neither did he tarry here, for there was a report of the coming of Otegin, but proceeded to his father's *ordu*: and the hopes of the ambitious were dashed by his arrival. And in that neighbourhood he took up his abode.

State business was still entrusted to the counsel of his mother, Töregene Khatun, and the binding and loosening of affairs was in her hands, and Güyük did not intervene therein to enforce *yasa* or [204] custom nor did he dispute with her about these matters.

And when messengers were dispatched to far and near to bid princes and *noyans* and summon sultans and kings and scribes, everyone left his home and country in obedience to the command. And when the world, because of the coming of spring, had set the foot of beauty upon the head of the stars and drawn the pen of oblivion through the Garden of Iram; and the earth, because of the arrival of Farvardin and her auxiliary plants, had donned

vering of every manner of flower; and the springtime, in
ıksgiving for this wondrous bounty, had with blossoms made
vhole body a mouth and with lilies converted all its limbs
tongues; and ring-doves dallied with turtles, and melodious
tingales together with the lark composed this *ghazal* in
air:

> The host of Spring have pitched their tents out on the plain
> —thou too must pitch thy tent out on the plain,
> Drink wine from morn till eve and gather roses from dusk till
> dawn

en it was that the princes arrived, each with his horsemen servants, his army and retinue. The eyes of mankind were :led by their accoutrement, and the fountain of their enemies' ;ht was troubled by the harmony that reigned among them all. ɔrqotani Beki and her sons arrived first with such gear and page as '*eye hath not seen nor ear heard*'. And from the East : came Köten with his sons; Otegin and his children; ıitei; and the other uncles and nephews that reside in that ɔn. From the *ordu* of Chaghatai came Qara, Yesü,[1] [205] ,[2] Baidar,[3] Yesün-Toqa [4] and the other grandsons and great-dsons. From the country of Saqsin and Bulghar, since ı did not come in person, he sent his elder brother Hordu his younger brothers Siban, Berke, Berkecher and Toqa-ıür. And distinguished *noyans* and leading emirs, who had ıections with one or other party, came in attendance on the ces. From Khitai there came emirs and officials; and from nsoxiana and Turkestan the Emir Mas'ud accompanied by ;randees of that region. With the Emir Arghun there came

'SW. Yesü, Yesü-Mengü or Yesü-Möngke was the fifth son of Chaghatai.
·WRY. The second son of Metiken or Mö'etüken.
›AYDAR. The sixth son of Chaghatai.
'eading YSNTWQH for the YSNBWQH of the text. Rashid-ad-Din ly has variants of this form but in one place (Blochet, 166) YYSWTWA YSWNTWA, i.e. Yesün-To'a. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 88–92, equates the with the Yesünte'e or Yesüntö'e of the *Secret History*, but the forms in ni and Rashid-ad-Din seem rather to support the etymology proposed lochet, 242n, viz. *yesün-togha* 'the number nine', from the Mongol *yesün* ' and *togha* (*to'a*) 'number'. Yesün-Toqa or Yesün-To'a was the third of Metiken.

the celebrities and notables of Khorasan, Iraq, Lur, Azerbaijan and Shirvan. From Rum came Sultan Rukn-ad-Din [5] and the Sultan of Takavor;[6] from Georgia, the two Davids;[7] from Aleppo, the brother of the Lord of Aleppo;[8] from Mosul, the envoy of Sultan Badr-ad-Din Lu'lu';[9] and from the City of Peace, Baghdad, the chief cadi Fakhr-ad-Din. There also came the Sultan of Erzerum,[10] envoys from the Franks,[11] and from Kerman and Fars also; and from 'Ala-ad-Din [12] of Alamut, his governors *(muḥtasham)* in Quhistan, Shihab-ad-Din and Shams-ad-Din.

And all this great assembly came with such baggage as befitted such a court; and there came also from other directions so many envoys and messengers that two [206] thousand felt tents had been made ready for them: there came also merchants with the rare and precious things that are produced in the East and the West.

When this assembly, which was such as no man had ever seen nor has the like thereof been read of in the annals of history,

[5] Qïlïj-Arslan IV (1257–65).

[6] TAKWR. As M.Q. has shown, III, 484–90, this is the Armenian word *t'agawor* 'king' mistakenly applied by Juvaini, not to the ruler of Cilicia or Little Armenia, but to the country itself. Here, however, is meant not King Het'um I himself but his brother the Constable Sempad (Smbat).

[7] I.e. David IV, the son of Queen Rusudani, and David V, the illegitimate son of her brother King Giorgi. See Allen, *A History of the Georgian People,* 113–14.

[8] This was the Ayyubid Nāṣir Salāḥ-ad-Dīn Yūsuf, the ruler of Aleppo (1236–60) and Damascus (1250–60).

[9] The Zangid *atabeg* of Mosul (1233–59).

[10] This is an anachronism, and it is significant that Rashid-ad-Din, who in this part of his history (Blochet, 242) follows Juvaini almost word for word, has omitted the reference to 'the Sultan of Erzerum'. Rukn-ad-Din Jahan-Shah, the Seljuq ruler of Erzerum, had been deposed and executed after the defeat of Jalal-ad-Din Khorazm-Shah by the allied forces of Rum and Syria (1230); and his territory had then been incorporated in the kingdom of his cousin 'Ala-ad-Din Kai-Qubad I.

[11] This would appear to be a reference to the mission of John de Plano Carpini.

[12] Marco Polo's 'Old Man of the Mountain, Alaodin by name', i.e. Muhammad III, the Grand Master of the Isma'ilis or Assassins (1221–55), on whom see below, ii, 703–12, also Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 256–8.

was gathered together, the broad plain was straitened and in the neighbourhood of the *ordu* there remained no place to alight in, and nowhere was it possible to dismount.

> Because of the many tents, and men, and pavilions there
> remained no level place on the plain.[13]

There was also a great dearth of food and drink, and no fodder was left for the mounts and beasts of burden.

The leading princes were all agreed as to committing the affairs of the Khanate and entrusting the keys of the Empire to one of the sons of Qa'an. Köten aspired to this honour because his grandfather had once made a reference to him. Others were of the opinion that Siremün,[14] when he came of age, might be a suitable person to charge with the affairs of the Kingdom. But of all the sons of Qa'an Güyük was most renowned for his might, and ruthlessness, and intrepidity, and dominion; he was the eldest of the brothers and had had most practice in the handling of difficult matters and most experience of weal and woe. Köten, on the other hand, was somewhat sickly, and Siremün was but a child. Moreover, Töregene Khatun favoured Güyük, and Beki and her sons were at one with her in this, and most of the *noyans* were in accord with them in this matter. It was therefore agreed that the Khanate should be settled upon Güyük and that he should ascend the throne of the Kingdom. Güyük, as is the custom, for some time rejected the honour and recommended instead now this person, now that. Finally on a day chosen by the practitioners of the science of the *qam* all [207] the princes gathered together and took off their hats and loosened their belts. And [Yesü][15] taking one hand and Hordu the

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 652.

[14] SYRAMWN. The older pronunciation of the name. Cf. the Siramun of Grigor and the Chinese transcription Hsi-lieh-mên. The later pronunciation (Shiremün) is represented by the Chirenen of Carpini, the ŠYRAMWN of Rashid-ad-Din and the Chinese transcription Shih-lieh-mên. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 426–7. The name appears to be the Turco-Mongolian form of Solomon. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [203]–[204], n. 4, or Cleaves, *loc. cit.*, where Pelliot's note is quoted in full. Siremün or Shiremün was the eldest son of Ögedei's second son, Köchü.

[15] There is a blank in the text as in A and B, but E has NYSW, i.e. YYSW.

other they set him on the throne of Dominion and the cushion of Kingship and seized their goblets; and the people that were present inside and outside the audience-hall knelt down three times[16] and called him 'Güyük Khan'. And in accordance with their custom they gave declarations in writing that they would not change his word or command, and uttered prayers for his welfare; after which they went out of the hall and knelt three times to the sun. And when he reposed again upon the throne of greatness, the princes sat on chairs on his right and the princesses on his left, each in exceeding grace like a precious pearl. And in the place of cupbearers was every youth of graceful mien, and violet cheeks, and rosy complexion, and sable locks, and cypress form, and blossom-like mouth, and pearly teeth, and happy aspect.

And had it been in the age of Joseph, the hearts of men
would have been cut, not the hands of women.[17]

Sweethearts such that if recluses behold their fair faces
they snatch them to their bosom with a blessing.

They girded up their loins and at the beginning of that day passed round in succession cups of *qumiz* and every kind of wine.

When the bubbles dance around the brim thou seest
pearls in red caskets.

Venus the Fair, gazing upon that pleasant assembly, was but a spectator upon the roof of the green cupola; and the Moon and Jupiter, for wonder at the peri-like sun-faced ones, were grief-stricken and sat in the midst of ashes. And the minstrels, Barbad-like,[18] opened their lips in song before the Chosroes of the World, and all others were tongue-tied for awe and dread. And in this manner till midnight [208] of that day the wine cups were filled to the brim, and the princes in the presence of the peerless King

[16] Cf. above, p. 187, D has 'nine times'.

[17] The reference is to a well-known episode in the Joseph saga. The Egyptian ladies, guests of Zulaikha (Potiphar's wife), unable to take their eyes off the handsome young man-servant, cut their hands with the knives provided for peeling their oranges.

[18] Bārbad was a famous court minstrel in Sassanian times.

To the tune of the strings and the melody of the flute,
with jessamine-cheeked beauties at the feet of the Chosroes,
Drank wine till midnight, and the minstrels opened their
lips in song.[19]

When they had grown drunk, after uniting in praising and belauding the Monarch of the Face of the Earth, they departed to their sleeping quarters; and on the next day, when the bright-faced Chosroes lifted the pitchy veil from his shining countenance and the patrolman, Dawn, left the Turk, Night, weltering in his blood—

Until Dawn pitched her tent and Darkness departed trailing the hem of her cloak

—the princes, *noyans* and common people

Came strutting to the King's court, open-hearted and
well-wishing they came.[20]

And when the bright banner of the sun was unfurled on the roof of the azure vault, the mighty king and puissant monarch, preparing to leave his chamber,

Donned imperial brocade, placed on his head the crown
of greatness,[21]

and with the arrogance of greatness and the haughtiness of pride

Came strutting from the pavilion, a shining banner
standing behind him,[22]

and sat down in his audience-hall upon the throne of pomp and magnificence: and noble and commoner were granted permission to enter, and everyone sat in his own place and

Began to praise the hero, saying, 'Thou art wakeful and
enlightened:
May the world, from end to end, be under thy feet; may
thy place always be upon the throne!'[23]

---

[19] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 472, ll. 623–4, which instead of 'and the minstrels opened their lips in song' has 'having opened their lips in mention of the great'.

[20] *Ibid.*, 465, l. 504.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1648, l. 2669.

[22] *Ibid.*, l. 2670.

[23] *Ibid.*, 470, ll. 571–2.

The princesses and concubines strutted in with the beauty of youth, like envoys of the materials of gaiety, and held cups of wine before them.

> *I saluted thy cheeks, nay I saluted for joy rose with rose and apple with apple.*

And they seated themselves upon the left like the northern zephyr. And all the men and women [209] and youths and maidens had donned garments of fine pearls, whose sparkle and lustre was such that the stars of the night out of jealousy wished to be scattered before the time of scattering. And in the drinking-bout of enjoyment they stretched out for cups of pleasure and set the foot of merriment in the arena of amusement, gratifying their eyes by gazing on the songstresses and their ears by hearkening to the songs;—and their hearts were exalted by the succession of joys and delights—

> In the head the headache of wine, and in the hand the tresses of the Beloved.

In this manner the day drew to its close: and on this wise for seven days, from noon till eve and from dawn till dusk, they were employed in handing round goblets of wine and gazing on peri-faced, fair-limbed beauties.

> *And many a fawn's song did his hands suggest to the strings, signs of longing.*

When they had done with feasting, he ordered the doors of the old and new treasuries to be opened and every sort of jewels, money and clothes to be got ready. And the direction of this business, that is, the distribution of these valuables, he entrusted to the counsel and discretion of Sorqotani Beki, who had the greatest authority in that *quriltai.* The first to receive their share were the princes and princesses that were present of the race and lineage of Chingiz-Khan; as also all their servants and attendants, noble and base, greybeard and suckling; and then in due order the *noyans,* the commanders of *tümen,* thousands, hundreds and tens, according to the census, the sultans, *maliks,* scribes, officials

their dependents. And everyone else who was present, ever he was, did not go portionless, nay everyone received full share and appointed lot.

nd after dispatching this business they began to inquire into rs of state. [210] First they took the case of Otegin, which saw fit to investigate carefully and examine minutely. And this examination was a matter of great delicacy and it was ossible to confide in strangers, Mengü and Hordu were the niners and no one else could have a say in the matter. When had completed their task, a group of emirs put him to h in accordance with the *yasa*. And in the same way they t with other important matters which the emirs were not wed to discuss.

. short while after Qa'an Chaghatai also died. He was eeded by his grandson, Qara Oghul, and Yesü, who was immediate son, did not interfere. And because Güyük an had a great friendship and affection for the latter, he : 'How can a grandson be heir when there is a son?' ing their lifetime both Qa'an and Chaghatai had designated a Oghul as the successor to Chaghatai's kingdom; but rük settled it upon Yesü [211] and strengthened his arm ll affairs.

fter Qa'an's death each of the princes had acted for himself, each of the nobles had attached himself to one of them; they had written drafts on the Kingdom and issued *paizas*. 'ük ordered these to be called in. And since what had been e was outside their *yasa* and custom, they were ashamed and g their heads in confusion. And the *paizas* and *yarlighs* of one of them were called in and laid before the author with words: '*Read what thou hast written.*'[24] But Beki[25] and her held their heads high, for no one could produce any document of theirs that was contrary to the *yasa*. In all his speeches rük Khan used to hold them up as an example; and because

Koran, xvii, 15.

.e. Sorqotani (Sorqoqtani) Beki. Beki ('*the* Princess') may have been of posthumous title adopted in order to avoid the mention of her real name. ny article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 153.

of their observance of the *yasas* he held others lightly but them he praised and lauded.

And he made a *yasa* that just as Qa'an, at the time of his accession, had upheld the *yasas* of his father and had not admitted any change or alteration of his statutes, so too the *yasas* and statutes of his own father should be immune from the contingencies of redundance and deficiency and secure from the corruption of change, and every *yarligh* that had been adorned with the royal *al-tamgha* should be signed again without reference to the Emperor.

And after this they consulted together about the army and the sending thereof to all parts of the world. And when it was learnt that of the clime of Khitai Manzi, which is the farthermost part thereof, had freed itself from its allegiance and set aside its submission, he dispatched Sübetei Bahadur and Jaghan [26] Noyan to that region with a mighty host and a numerous army; and the like to Tangut and Solangai; while to the West he dispatched Eljigitei [27] and a large army. And he commanded that from [212] every prince two men out of every ten should join Eljigitei, that all the men in that region should mount horse with him, that two out of every ten Taziks should go along and that they should begin by attacking the Heretics.[28] And it was agreed

[26] JΓAN. In III, 64, the name is spelt JΓA, i.e. Jagha. *jaghan* in Mongol means 'elephant'. Blochet, 306, adopts the form ČΓAN, i.e. Chaghan, which is also possible, *chaghan* being the Mongol for 'white'. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, VII, 156–7, Khetagurov, 144–5, where the name is spelt Uchagan), Jaghan was by origin a Tangut and had, at the age of fifteen, been adopted by Chingiz-Khan as his fifth son. (There is evidently some confusion with Orchan or Orchaqan, the Conqueror's son by a Tatar concubine, on whom see above, pp. 180–1, n. 6, also Khetagurov, 110, where his name is spelt Chagan.) He commanded Chingiz-Khan's 'chief *tümen*' (*hazāra-yi-buzurg*) and was afterwards appointed by Ögedei to the command of all the Mongol forces on the borders of Khitai or Northern China, as also to the governorship of Khitai itself.

[27] Reading AYLJYKTAY for the AỴLČYKTAY of the text. On the form and meaning of the name see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [116], n. 2, and [171], n. 2. This was the Elcheltay, etc., 'king of the Tartars', who sent a mission to Louis IX. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [154]–[155], also, for the Latin translation of his letter to St. Louis, [161]–[164]. See also Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 421–3.

[28] *malāḥida* (sing. *mulḥid*): the term usually applied to the Isma'ilis or Assassins

that he himself should follow after. And although he had placed all the armies and conquered peoples under the command of Eljigitei, he especially entrusted to him the affairs of Rum, Georgia, Aleppo, Mosul and Takavor [29] in order that no one else might interfere with them and the sultans and governors of those parts might be answerable to him for their tribute. And he bestowed the countries of Khitai upon the Great Minister Yalavach, as also Transoxiana, Turkestan and the other lands that had been under the control of the Emir Mas'ud Beg. And Iraq, Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Lur, Kerman, Fars and the territory in the direction of India he entrusted to the Emir Arghun. And to all of the emirs and *maliks* that were dependent on each of them he gave *yarlighs* and *paizas*: he confided important business to them and distinguished them with tiger-headed [30] *paizas* and with *yarlighs*. And he settled the Sultanate of Rum upon Sultan Rukn-ad-Din, because he had come to do him homage, and deposed his elder brother.[31] And David, the son of Qiz-Malik,[32] he made subject to the other David. And *yarlighs* were given to the Sultans of Takavor [33] and Aleppo and to the envoys. As

It was known to Rubruck, who speaks of 'the Hacsasins, whom they call Mulidet' (Rockhill, 222), and is used also by the Armenian writers Vardan (Mlhedk') and Kirakos (Mlhedk' and Mulhedk'). *mulḥid* is actually a stronger word than *heretic*, the Isma'ilis being regarded as outside the pale of Islam.

[29] The text has Diyar-Bekr (Diyār-Bakr), but E has TAKWR (corrupted by B and C into BAKWR), i.e. Takavor, on which see above, p. 250, n. 6.

[30] *shīr-sar*, which could also mean 'lion-headed'. Cf. Marco Polo ed. Benedetto, 112: 'And you must know that he who is captain of 100 men has a silver tablet, he who is captain of 1000 men a tablet of gold or gilt silver, he who is captain of 10,000 men a gold tablet with a *lion's head*.' What is meant in both cases is the Chinese *hu-fu* or 'tiger tally'. Marco Polo, as Pelliot remarks, always uses 'lion' for 'tiger'—'par exemple à propos des *hou-fou* ou "tablettes au tigre", vraisemblablement sous l'influence du persan *šēr, šīr*'. (*Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 17.) In fact in Classical Persian *shīr* (or *shēr*, as it was then pronounced) was applied indifferently to the Lion and the Tiger. In present-day Persia the word means exclusively 'lion', but in India, where the old pronunciation (*shēr*) has been preserved, it is the ordinary term for 'tiger'. Cf. the Shere Khan of the *Jungle Tales*.

[31] 'Izz-ad-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs II (1245–57). For the somewhat complicated details of the two princes' reigns see Grousset, *op. cit.*, 423.

[32] I.e. Rusudani. Qīz-Malik is more or less 'Queen', from the Turkish *qīz* 'maiden' and the Arabic *malik* 'king'.

[33] See above, p. 250 and n. 6.

for the envoy from Baghdad the *yarligh* with which he had been honoured was taken back from him, and Güyük Khan sent angry messages to the Commander of the Faithful [213] because of a complaint that Siremün,[34] the son of Chormaghun, had made about them. As for the envoys from Alamut, he dismissed them with contempt and disdain; and the reply to the memorandum they had brought was couched in correspondingly harsh language.

And when important affairs had thus been disposed of, the princes, after taking leave and performing the ceremonies of obeisance, departed homewards and busied themselves with the words and commands of Güyük Khan by arranging the dispatch of armies and the appointment of emirs.

And when the report of his accession was published throughout the world and the severity and awesomeness of his justice became known, before the armies reached his opponents, for fear and dread of his rigour there was a host in every heart and a warrior in every bosom.

> Before thy foe thy arrow is a valiant army; around thy army thy terror is a strong fortress.

And every lord of the marches who heard that report, for fear of his fury and dread of his ferocity, '*sought out an opening into the earth or a ladder into Heaven*'.[35]

> I see no foeman in the whole world, either overt or covert,
> Who when he hears thy name will not writhe. Writhe, did I say? verily he will fall lifeless.[36]

And his ministers, favourites and courtiers were unable to raise the foot of representation nor could they bring any matter to his attention before he had taken the initiative in speaking of it. And visitors from near and far did not step a span higher than the stables except that person who used to present his

[34] Not to be confused with the grandson of Ögedei, on whom see above, p. 251, n. 14.

[35] An adaptation of Koran, vi, 35.

[36] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1637, ll. 2492–3.

offering on the first day and then depart without even going inside.

Now Qadaq [37] had been in attendance on him since his childhood in the capacity of *atabeg* ; and since he was by religion a Christian, Güyük too was brought up in that faith, [214] and the picture thereof was painted on the page of his bosom '*like a picture carved on stone*'. To this was added [the influence of] Chinqai. He therefore went to great lengths in honouring the Christians and their priests, and when this was noised abroad, priests set their faces towards his Court from Damascus and Rum and Baghdad and the As [38] and the Rus; [39] and for the most part too it was Christian physicians that were attached to his service. And because of the attendance of Qadaq and Chinqai he naturally was prone to denounce the faith of Mohammed *(upon whom be the most excellent of peace and blessings !)*. And since the Emperor was of a languid nature he had entrusted the binding and loosening, the tying and untying of affairs to Qadaq and Chinqai and made them responsible for good and evil, weal and woe. Consequently the cause of the Christians flourished during his reign, and no Moslem dared to raise his voice to them.

Now Güyük Khan wished the fame of his own generosity to surpass the fame of his father's. His munificence exceeded all bounds. When the merchants gathered together from the farthest and nearest parts of the world and brought rare and precious things, he commanded them to be valued in the same way as had been done in his father's reign. On one occasion the dues of a group of merchants who had waited upon him amounted to the sum of seventy thousand *balish,* for which drafts were written upon every land. Now the goods received from those merchants and those delivered in one day from the lands of the East and West, from Khitai to Rum, together with the wares of every clime and people, were piled up in heaps, each

[37] Carpini's 'Kadac, the procurator of the whole empire'. (Rockhill, 27.)

[38] The As (Ās) or Alans (Ālān) were the ancestors of the present-day Ossetes.

[39] I.e. the Russians. On the derivation of the name see Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 276–8.

sort in a different pile. 'It will be difficult to transport all this,' said the ministers, 'and it has to be sent to the treasury in Qara-Qorum.' 'It would also be difficult to guard,' said Güyük, 'and would not profit us: let it be distributed among the soldiers and those in attendance on us.' And for days it was distributed and sent to all the subject peoples on the right and the left; [215] and not an infant remained without its share. And it was distributed likewise among all who had come from far and near, whether master or slave. Finally only a third had not been disposed of; this too was distributed but in the end there still remained a great deal. One day Güyük came from the *ordu* and passed by these wares. 'Did I not tell you,' he said, 'to give it all to the army and the people?' 'This,' they replied, 'is what is left after everyone has twice received his full share.' He commanded everyone that was present at that moment to carry off as much as he could.

And that year [40] he passed in his winter-quarters; and when the New Year came, and the world escaped again from the cold of winter, and a pleasant haze descended, and the face of the earth donned the motley robe of spring, and the trees and branches again drew up sap, and the fertilizing winds began to blow, and the air *(havā)* was like the love *(havā)* of a sweet mistress, and the gardens became radiant like the cheeks of princesses, and birds and beasts mated, and fond friends and intimate companions, taking advantage of the days of joy before the coming of autumn, slept not nor rested in compliance with the verses

> Arise thou, who art the one the love of whom stole the
> peace of mind of the jasmine, let us rejoice together in the
> time of the jasmine;
> Let us pluck roses from the face of the rose-coloured garden,
> let us drink wine from the lips of the wine-coloured
> jasmine

—then it was that Güyük Khan fulfilled his intention of departing and quitted the capital of his kingdom.[41] And wherever

[40] I.e. 1247.

[41] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 250), he gave it out that he was proceeding, for reasons of health, to the region of the Emil, but Princess Sorqoq-

he came where there was a sown field or where he saw people, he would command his attendants to give them *balish* and clothes, so that they were freed from the humiliation of poverty and indigence. And in this manner with the greatest awesomeness and majesty he proceeded towards the countries of the West. When he reached the confines of * Qum-Sengir,[42] a week's journey from Besh-Baligh, the predestined hour [216] arrived [43] and did not grant him respite to advance one step beyond that place.

How many hopes have been unfulfilled through the jugglery of the cruel Heavens! Neither violence nor fury hindered, and neither armies nor munitions could coerce. And what is still stranger is that however much men look and observe the like hereof they in no wise take warning; greed and cupidity are every day on the increase; the predominance of avidity is strengthened hourly; and yet the voice of the tongueless speaker does not prevent, and its admonishment in the ear of understanding does not prohibit.

> The world is ever saying: 'It were better not to set thy heart on me.' Thou dost not hearken to the voice of this speechless speaker.

etani suspected that his real intention was to attack his cousin Batu, to whom she accordingly sent a warning.

[42] Reading QMSNKR for the SMRQND, i.e. Samarqand of the text, which is of course impossible. In *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [196]–[197], n. 1, Pelliot had already suggested such an emendation based on the MSKR of D and the QMSTKY of the corresponding passage in Barhebraeus, which forms he identified with the Hêng-sêng-yi-êrh of the *Yüan shih* and the Ghumsghur of Kirakos. According to the latter (213, Bretschneider, I, 168), King Het'um of Little Armenia, leaving Qara-Qorum on the homeward journey, reached Ghumsghur after travelling for 30 days and proceeded from thence to Bĕrbalekh and Bĕshbalekh, i.e. Besh-Balīgh. Qum-Sengir, the 'Sand Promontory', is the Qum-Shinggir of the *Secret History* (§ 158) and is to be sought, according to Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 316, along the upper course of the Urungu, where that river is still known as the Bulgan, 'probablement quand il cesse de couler du Nord au Sud pour faire son grand coude vers l'Ouest et le Nord-Ouest; c'est encore là que passe aujourd'hui la route postale en direction de " Gutchen ".'

[43] The death of Güyük occurred, according to the *Yüan shih*, in the third month (27th March–24th April) of 1248. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [195]–[196].

Wherefore dost thou seek the love of the cruel one by whom Alexander lost his life? Wherefore dost thou dally with the mistress by whom Darius lost his kingdom?
Seest thou not what tricks this fair-seeming beldame produces every hour from this mercury-coloured tent?

[XXXVII]

OF PRINCESS OGHUL-GHAIMISH [1] AND HER SONS

WHEN the inevitable fate of all mortals had overtaken Güyük Khan, the roads were closed (as is their custom and wont whenever a king dies) and a *yasa* was promulgated to the effect that everyone should halt in whatever place he had reached, whether it was inhabited or desert. [217] And after the sorrow for this calamity had abated Oghul-Ghaimish sent messengers to Sorqotani Beki and Batu informing them of what had happened; and after consulting and deliberating with the ministers as to whether she should return to the *ordu* of Qa'an or proceed to the Qobaq and the Emil, where the former *ordu* of Güyük Khan was situated, in accordance with her own inclination she set out for the Emil. And Sorqotani Beki, as is their usual custom, sent her clothing and a *boghtagh* [2] together with messages of

[1] AΓWL ΓAYMŠ. According to Rashid-ad-Din, who calls her Oqul-Qaimish, she was a Merkit. (Khetagurov, 116.) It was she who received the first mission from Louis IX and her reply to the French King has been preserved in the pages of Joinville. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [213]. In Möngke's letter to St. Louis she is referred to as Camus: '. . . After the death of Keu Chan your ambassadors reached this court. And Camus his wife sent you *nasic* stuffs and letters. But as to affairs of war and peace and the welfare and happiness of a great realm, what could this woman, who was viler than a dog, know about them? . . .' (Rockhill, 249–50.)

[2] The *boghtagh* or *boghtaq* was the headdress of the married women. It is the *bocca*, i.e. **bocta*, of Rubruck, who describes it as follows: 'Furthermore they have a headdress which they call *bocca*, made of bark, or such light material as they can find, and it is big and as much as two hands can span around, and is a cubit and more high, and square like the capital of a column. This *bocca* they cover (233) with costly silk stuff, and it is hollow inside, and on top of the capital, or the square on it, they put a tuft of quills or light canes also a cubit or more in length. And this tuft they ornament on the top with peacock feathers, and round the edge (of the top) with feathers from the mallard's tail, and also

and condolence. And Batu consoled and comforted her
ike manner and heartened her with fair promises; and
other things he suggested that Oghul-Ghaimish, as
ore, should administer affairs of state together with the
rs and attend to all that was necessary. On the pretext
horses were lean, he halted in Ala-Qamaq;[a] and word
it to all the princes and emirs bidding them present them-
it that place in order to consult together regarding the
ng of the Khanate to a fitting person so that affairs of
ight not again be deranged and confusion might not arise.
and Naqu also should come, and Qadaq should not
accompany them. [218] Khoja and Naqu for their part
to join Batu. As for Qadaq, at the time when from
s of station he had set foot on the Heavens he had uttered
that befitted not his rank and from extremity of folly

cious stones. The wealthy ladies wear such an ornament on their
d fasten it down tightly with an amess, for which there is an opening
for that purpose, and inside they stuff their hair, gathering it together
cks of the tops of their heads in a kind of knot, and putting it in the
ch they afterwards tie down tightly under the chin. So it is that when
dies are riding together, and one sees them from afar, they look like
helmets on head and lances erect. For this *bocca* looks like a helmet,
uft above it is like a lance.' (Rockhill, 73–4.)

AQMAQ. Apparently identical with the A-la-t'o-hu-la-wu (*Ala-
?) of the *Yüan shih*, in which Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [190],
*Ala-Toghraq, 'le Peuplier tacheté', from the Turkish *ala* 'speckled',
nd white' and *toghraq* 'poplar'. He accounts for the discrepancy
the two forms by suggesting that Ala-Qamaq may be a corruption
Toghraq. Another solution of the problem would be to see in the
ement of Ala-Qamaq a variant or corruption of the Ottoman and
ni word for 'poplar', viz. *qavaq* (*kavak*). Ala-Qamaq lay a week's
om Qayalïgh (see below, ii, 557), perhaps, as Barthold suggests in his
Batu in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, in the Ala-Tau mountains between
-Kul and the Ili. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 274–8)
eting with the princes took place, not at Ala-Qamaq (which is nowhere
d), but somewhere in his own territory. Being crippled with rheumatism
e of Güyük's death (see also Blochet, 251), he summons the princes
n headquarters in the West; and the sons of Ögedei, Chaghatai and
re represented as refusing to make the long journey to the Qipchaq
Otherwise Rashid-ad-Din's account of the meeting in no way differs
aini's detailed description of the *quriltai* at Ala-Qamaq. See below,
2.

and excess of ignorance had spoken words that were the source of panic and the substance of gossip. Therefore being afraid he drew back his foot and bowed his head pretending to be ill. And though messengers were sent several times again he did not give way, nor would Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons consent to his going. They therefore took their leave of him immediately.

And when Khoja and Naqu arrived in Ala-Qamaq they did not remain more than a day or two and went back before the other princes, because the star of their fortune was on the wane. They left Temür Noyan with Batu as their representative telling him that whatever agreement was reached by the princes he too was to give a written undertaking to the same effect. And when the princes were agreed as to the accession of the Just Monarch Mengü Qa'an he too gave his written consent.

The princes, in order to show respect to the sons of Güyük Khan, still left the government in their hands until such time as there should be a *quriltai*; and they sent a messenger to them to say that since Chinqai had always been a trustworthy person and had charge of weighty matters he was to continue the direction of affairs and issue *yarlighs* until such time as a Khan was appointed and the secret of God Almighty revealed.

[219] From Ala-Qamaq the princes all departed to their own *ordus* in order to make ready for the *quriltai*. As for Temür he went back to Khoja and Naqu and told them how the princes had agreed to the auspicious accession of Mengü Qa'an. They reproached him for having given his written word and agreed with the rest; and they plotted to set an ambush in the pathway of Mengü Qa'an and let fly the arrow of treachery from the thumb of incivility. However Fortune being vigilant, and helpful, and kind, and Fate being at his side, and Luck his helpmeet, and the Grace of the Creator *(glorious are His bounties and many His blessings!)* accompanying him, and the solicitude of the people assisting and supporting him, he had passed through the ambushes and dangers before they were aware. Nevertheless they still cherished that thought in their breasts and continued to deal with current affairs, although these amounted to little except negotiations with merchants, the provisional allocation

of sums of money to every land and country and the dispatch of relays of churlish messengers and taxgatherers. And most of the time Oghul-Ghaimish was closeted with the *qam* carrying out their fantasies and absurdities.[4] As for Khoja and Naqu they held two separate courts in opposition to their mother; and thus there were three rulers in one place. And elsewhere also the princes made dealings in accordance with their own wishes, and the grandees and notables of every land attached themselves to a party according to their own inclination. And the affairs of Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons got out of control because of their differences with one another and their contentions with their senior kinsmen; and their counsels and schemes diverged from the pathway of righteousness. As for Chinqai he was weak and confused in the conduct of affairs, and his advice was not admitted to the ear of their understanding: [220] being young they acted in accordance with their own counsel, while Oghul-Ghaimish pleased herself in hindering men of goodwill.

Two things with which the ascetic can do nothing are the counsel of women and the command of young men:
As for women their inclination is towards passion, and as for young men, they run with loose bridle.[5]

And they sent messengers to Batu saying: 'We will not consent to the election of another Khan; we shall never connive at that agreement.'

A sentence was passed and a letter preceded, but of what avail was impatience or anxiety?
God passeth what judgement He pleaseth: wherefore then art thou disturbed seeing that all is well?

They sent all these messages with Yesü's encouragement and with his consent and support. And again and again their loving kinsfolk Beki and Batu sent them words of advice, saying, 'At any rate you should come to the *quriltai*, and take counsel,

[4] William of Rubruck was informed by Möngke 'with his own lips that Camus was the worst kind of a witch, and that she had destroyed the whole of her family by her witchcraft'. (Rockhill, 250.)

[5] Husain b. 'Ali of Marv-ar-Rud, who flourished under the Samanids. (M.Q.)

and deliberate together a second time when all the *aqa* and *ini* [6] are assembled together.' And from Batu there would come messengers saying that [221] if the Khanate was settled on Mengü Qa'an most of the advantages therefrom would accrue to them. But since they looked with the gaze of puerility and petulance and had not been chastened and corrected by experience of life, they persisted in these ideas. And as for Qadaq, for fear of the effects of his foolish words and immature thoughts, he agreed with their ideas of opposition. And though messengers came from every side bidding them hasten the calling of the *quriltai*, they persisted in their lassitude and procrastination, planning schemes behind the curtain of opposition and casting the dice of counsel on the chequer-board of desire; and they still held back from doing what was expedient. Finally a messenger came from the princes saying that they were gathered together in the presence [of Mengü]. Accordingly Naqu set out to join them, and was followed by Khoja, and afterwards by Ghaimish, as shall be related in the chapter on the accession of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an; when through shortsightedness and vanity things came to such a pass that the understanding of the wise struggled in the mire of the thought thereof and could find no way out.

[XXXVIII]

OF TUSHI AND THE ACCESSION OF BATU [1] IN HIS STEAD

WHEN Tushi, who was the eldest son, had gone to Qulan-Bashi to join Chingiz-Khan and had returned from thence, the predestined hour arrived. And of his sons, Boghal,[2] Hordu, Batu, Sibaqan, Tangut, Berke and [222] Berkecher, these seven,

[6] I.e. the elder and young brothers.

[1] On the reign of Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, see Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 140–9, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 470–4, Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 10–32.

[2] Reading BWΓL for the BMḤL of the text. Rashid-ad-Din has BWWAL, i.e. Bowal or Bo'al, and BWQAL, i.e. Boqal. Bo'al is in fact the Western pronunciation of the Mongol name Bo'ol meaning 'slave'. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 52–4. Bo'al, who appears in Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, as Teval, was the grandfather of the famous general Noqai, the Nogai of Marco Polo.

had come of age; and Batu succeeded his father and became ruler of the kingdom and his brothers. And when Qa'an came to the throne of the Empire Batu reduced and subjugated all the territory adjoining his own, including all that remained of the Qifchaq, the Alan, the As and the Rus, and other lands also such as Bulghar, Magas,[3] etc.

And Batu abode in his own encampment, which he had set up in the region of the Etil;[4] and he built a town there which is called Sarai;[5] and his word was law in every land. He was a king that inclined towards no faith or religion: he recognized only the belief in God and was blindly attached to no sect or creed. His bounty was beyond calculation and his liberality immeasurable. The kings of every land and the monarchs of the horizons and everyone else came to visit him; and before their offerings, which were the accumulation of ages, could be taken away to the treasury, he had bestowed them all upon Mongol and Moslem and all that were present, and heeded not whether it was much or little. And merchants from every side brought him all manners of wares, and he took everything and doubled the price of it several times over. And he wrote drafts on the Sultans of Rum and Syria and granted them *yarlighs*; [223] and no one that came to visit him departed without achieving his purpose.

When Güyük Khan succeeded to the Khanate, Batu, at his request and entreaty, set out to meet him. When he had reached Ala-Qamaq the death of Güyük Khan occurred. He halted in that place, and the princes came to visit him from every side; and they settled the Khanate upon Mengü Qa'an, the account whereof will be given in the chapter on Mengü Qa'an. And

[3] MKS. Magas, the Meget, etc., of the *Secret History*, was actually the capital of the Alans or Ossetes. See Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 232–8.

[4] AYTYL. The Volga. Carpini was the first Western writer to call the river by its Russian name. Even Rubruck calls it Etilia. See Rockhill, 8, n. 2. The name was given to the Volga by the Bulgars and Avars; and *etil* is to this day the Chuvash word for 'river'. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 22.

[5] This is Chaucer's 'Sarray, in the land of Tartarye'. Sarai (called afterwards 'Old Sarai' to distinguish it from the 'New Sarai' founded by Berke) was situated on the eastern bank of the Akhtuba, about 65 miles north of Astrakhan. See Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, 141 and 153, Spuler, *op. cit.*, 266–8.

from thence he went back, and came to his own *ordu*, and busied himself with pleasures and amusements. And whenever a campaign was being organized he would, in accordance with the exigencies of the occasion, dispatch armies led by his relations, kinsfolk and commanders. When, in the year 653/1255–6, Mengü Qa'an held another *quriltai*, he sent Sartaq, who was an adherent of the Christian faith. Sartaq had not yet arrived when the commandment of God was fulfilled and the inevitable state [6] came to pass in the year . . .[7] And when Sartaq arrived, Mengü Qa'an received him with honour and respect and distinguished him with all manner of kindnesses above all his equals; and he dismissed him with such wealth and riches as befitted so great a king. He had not yet reached his *ordu* but had only come to . . . when he too departed to join his father. Mengü Qa'an sent his emirs to console his wives and brothers; and he commanded that Boraqchin [8] Khatun, who was Batu's chief wife, should issue orders and educate Ulaghchi,[9] the son of Sartaq, until he grew up and succeeded his father. But Fate had not willed it thus, and Ulaghchi passed away that same year.

[XXXIX]

[224] OF THE CONQUEST OF BULGHAR [1] AND THE TERRITORY OF THE AS AND THE RUS [2]

WHEN Qa'an held the great *quriltai* for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation

[6] I.e. the death of Batu.

[7] There is considerable divergency in the sources as to the date of Batu's death, but it seems most likely that he died in 1255. See Spuler, *op. cit.*, 32, n. 108.

[8] BRAQČYN. On Boraqchin—the name is the feminine form of the Mongol *boro* 'grey'—see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 39–44. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 111) she belonged to the Alchi tribe of the Tatar.

[9] According to Rashid-ad-Din Ulaghchi—'the man in charge of post horses'—was not the son but the brother of Sartaq, but see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 34–9.

[1] Bulghar is used in this chapter both for the town (on which see above, p. 42, n. 12) and for the people. On the Volga Bulgars see Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 222–8.

[2] This and the following chapter have already appeared in print in Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 222–3.

of all the remaining rebels; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghar, the As and the Rus, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, viz. Mengü Qa'an and his brother Böchek;[3] his own sons Güyük Khan and Qadaghan; of the other princes, Kölgen, Büri and Baidar; Batu's brothers, Hordu and Tangut; and several other princes as well as Sübetei Bahadur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own place of residence in order to organize their forces and armies; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghar. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghar, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and its ample resources; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from thence they proceeded to the land of the Rus and conquered that country[4] as far as the city [225] of Magas,[5] the inhabitants of which were as numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four waggons to pass abreast. And they set up

[3] BWČK. The Büjek of the *Secret History* and the Bichac or Bechac of Carpini. Böchek was actually Möngke's half-brother. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 207, where there is a blank for his mother's name. He must be the brother of Möngke and Arïgh Böke, 'by the father', who according to Rubruck had captured the goldsmith William Buchier 'in Hungary, in a town called Belgrade'. See Rockhill, 222.

[4] At this place, Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 222, n. 2, assumes a great lacuna in the text. Hence the impression is given that Magas was captured during the operations in Russia, whereas it was actually taken in the course of a subsequent campaign in the Caucasus.

[5] In Persian *magas* means 'fly', and the following reference to ants, locusts and a serpent is therefore an example of the figure known as *tanāsub*. See above, p. 117, n. 7.

mangonels opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its namesakes,[6] and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two hundred and seventy thousand ears were counted.[7] And from thence the princes turned homewards.

[XL]

OF THE HORSEMEN[1] OF THE KELER AND BASHGHIRD[2]

WHEN the Rus, the Qifchaq and the Alan had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Keler and Bashghird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power and the strength of their arms; and when they heard the report of Batu's approach they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight disgrace. Batu sent his brother Sibaqan on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Sibaqan set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a [226] week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other Batu went up on to a hilltop;[3] and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also assemble together and offer up

[6] A pun: nothing but *flies*.   [7] Cf. above, p. 195 and n. 13.

[1] Or 'the horsemen (*khail*) *who marched against* the Keler and Bashghird'. This is how Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 223, understands the heading. On the other hand cf. the reference below to the 400,000 horsemen of the Hungarians.

[2] Bashghird is here simply a synonym of Keler, i.e. the Hungarians, and does not refer to the Uralian Bashkirs, whose descendants are now citizens of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. On these latter see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 318–19.

[3] Cf. above, p. 80.

prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river [4] lay between the armies: Batu sent over a detachment by night and then his [main] army crossed. Batu's brother entered the battle in person and made attack after attack; but the enemy's army was strong and did not budge. Then the [main] army arrived from behind; and Sibaqan attacked at the same time with all his forces; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords.[5] And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Keler [6] lost heart and fled. And no more of that army escaped, and those lands also were subjugated. This was one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles.

[XLI]

OF CHAGHATAI

CHAGHATAI was a fierce and mighty khan, stern and severe. When the lands of Transoxiana and Turkestan were subjugated, his camping grounds and those of his children and armies extended from Besh-Baligh to Samarqand, fair and pleasant places fit to be the abode of kings. In spring and summer he had his quarters in Almaligh and Quyas, which in those seasons [227] resembled the Garden of Iram. He constructed large pools (which they call *köl* [1]) in that region for the flocking of the waterfowl. He also built a town [2] called Qutlugh. The

[4] The Sayó.

[5] As Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 223, n. 3, has pointed out, Carpini saw in Batu's camp on the lower Volga 'tents made of linen. They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the king of Hungary.' (Rockhill, 10.)

[6] 'The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayó, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241. On this occasion quarrels arose between Batu and Sübedey, see the translation of the latter's Chinese biography in Pelliot, [*Horde d'Or*,] 131. The Mongols spent the summer of 1241 on the Hungarian plain and on 25th December, 1241, crossed the Danube on the ice.' (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 228.)

[1] See above, p. 237, n. 3.

[2] Or village (*dih*). See above, p. 45, n. 5.

autumn and winter he spent in [? Marauzik] [3] on the Ila. And at every stage, from beginning to end he had laid up stores of food and drink. And he was ever engaged in amusements and pleasures and dallying with sweet-faced peri-like maidens.

For fear of his *yasa* and punishment his followers were so well disciplined that during his reign no traveller, so long as he was near his army, had need of guard or patrol on any stretch of road; and, as is said by way of hyperbole, a woman with a golden vessel on her head might walk alone without fear or dread. And he enacted minute *yasas* that were an intolerable imposition upon such as the Taziks, e.g. that none might slaughter meat in the Moslem fashion nor sit by day in running water, and so on. The *yasa* forbidding the slaughter of sheep in the lawful manner he sent to every land; and for a time no man slaughtered sheep openly in Khorasan, and Moslems were forced to eat carrion.

When Qa'an died Chaghatai's Court became the rendezvous of all mankind, and men journeyed from near and far to do him homage. But it was not long before a sore disease attacked him such that the cause was victor over the cure. He had a Turkish vizier, a man called Hujir, who had risen to power at the end of his reign and had taken over the affairs of the Kingdom. Together with the physician Majd-ad-Din this man did everything in his power to cure Chaghatai's disease and showed great kindness and solicitude. [228] However, when Chaghatai died, Yesülün,[4] his senior wife, ordered them both to be killed together with their children.

The Emir Habash 'Amid, who had been attached to Chaghatai's service ever since the conquest of Transoxiana and had attained to the rank of vizier, still remained in the service

[3] The text has MRAWRYL following A, but there are several variants. The word is either a proper name or a corruption of some word meaning 'neighbourhood', 'banks' or the like, in which case the whole phrase would run: 'near (on the banks of) the Ila.' Ila was the Old Turkish name of the Ili.

[4] YSLWN. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 154) she was the daughter of Qata Noyan, the son of Daritai of the Qonqïrat tribe. Daritai was the brother of Dei Sechen, the ruler of the tribe and the father of Chingiz-Khan's chief wife, Börte Fujin: Yesülün's father and Börte were therefore first cousins. Rashid-ad-Din, however, goes on to say that after Yesülün's death Chaghatai married her sister, whereas, according to Juvaini's account, she outlived her husband.

of Chaghatai's widow. There was a poet called Sadid-i-A'var Sha'ir. One feast day he composed certain topical verses, which he dedicated to the Emir Habash 'Amid:

> It has become clear to thee that this gloomy world is the snare of calamity; thou hast learnt that this world is a deceitful coquette.
> Of what avail were *qorchis* and *kebte'üls* [5] and valiant soldiers when Fate attacked and struck to right and left?
> He for fear of whom none entered water is drowned in an ocean that is exceeding vast.

Chaghatai had many sons and grandsons; but his eldest son, Metiken, having been killed at Bamiyan and Qara [6] having been born at that time, Chingiz-Khan, and after him Qa'an and Chaghatai, had made him Chaghatai's heir and successor. [229] In accordance with this ruling, after Chaghatai's death, his wife Yesülün, Habash 'Amid-al-Mulk and the Pillars of the State favoured his claim. But when Güyük Khan was raised to the Khanate, having a friendship for Yesü, who was Chaghatai's own son, he said: 'Why should the grandson succeed when there is a son?' Accordingly he set up Yesü in his father's kingdom and entrusted him with the direction of affairs of state. Now Yesü was constantly carousing; he was ignorant of sobriety and made intoxication a habit, drinking wine from morn till eve.

When he became firmly established in the kingdom he grew angry with Habash 'Amid because of his having supported Qara; and he plotted against him. Now when Habash 'Amid first rose to power he had given his sons to the sons of Chaghatai and allotted each of them to one of the princes. Chaghatai, however, used to contrast them with Baha-ad-Din Marghinani on account of the latter's accomplishments and learning; and he appointed him to wait on Yesü. Because of the length of his service Baha-ad-Din also rose to power; he was entrusted with the office of vizier to Yesü, and Habash 'Amid was discarded. The *imam* Baha-ad-Din performed all the ceremonies and courtesies of respect and several times restrained Yesü from

[5] I.e. night-guards. See above, p. 226, n. 53. [6] I.e. Qara-Hülegü.

carrying out the designs he had upon Habash 'Amid. However, there was an ancient grudge in the heart of the Emir Habash 'Amid, [230] and he was waiting for an opportunity to ease his breast thereof.

Yesü continued to reign until Mengü Qa'an ascended the throne of the Khanate. Yesü opposed his accession, whereupon Mengü Qa'an settled the kingdom upon Qara by virtue of the earlier testament. He distinguished Qara with all kinds of favours and sent him home. Upon the way back the inevitable hour prevented him from reaching his *ordu*. Accordingly Mengü Qa'an settled the kingdom upon his son; and since the latter was as yet but a child, he placed the keys of government in the hands of Orqina,[7] Qara's widow. When she returned to her *ordu*, Yesü also, by Batu's leave, shortly afterwards arrived home. To him also Fate gave no quarter.[8]

The Emir Habash 'Amid and his son Nasir-ad-Din returned to power in the service of Orqina. And when Qara returned[9] he delivered up Baha-ad-Din Marghinani to Habash 'Amid together with his property and children [231] in order that he might wreak his vengeace on him.

When Baha-ad-Din was seized and fastened in the two-pronged press he composed the following quatrain:

> Those that have tied up the bundle of their lives
> Have escaped from the toil and trouble of this world.
> My body broke because of my many sins.
> Therefore it was that they bound up this broken thing.

[7] AWRQYNH. Spelt AWRQNH by Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 102) and HRΓNH, i.e. apparently Horghïna, by Vassaf (ed. Hammer-Purgstall, 28, Bombay ed., 14). The Organum of Rubruck, as was already pointed out by Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, 161, is the name of this princess transferred to the territory in which she resided. According to Rashid-ad-Din she was the sister of Buqa-Temür of the Oirat and therefore the grand-daughter of Chingiz-Khan by his second daughter Chechcken. See Khetagurov, 119, Smirnova, 70.

[8] According to the more detailed account of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 175 and 184–93), Orqïna, the wife of Qara-Hülegü, after her husband had died on the homeward journey, put Yesü to death by the order of Möngke Qa'an and then for ten years ruled the *ulus* of Chaghatai in her husband's stead. (M.Q.)

[9] This is inconsistent not only with the facts but with the author's own statement a few lines before. (M.Q.)

And in order to sue for favour he sent this other quatrain also:

> O King, take what was my woof and warp;
> And if my life avail thee aught take that also.
> It is a life that has come to my lips and left my bosom.
> Of these two take whichever thou wilt.

But when he saw that no stratagem would be of service and that humility and self-abasement were of no avail he composed the following two verses and sent them to Habash 'Amid:

> I revelled with friend and foe, and then departed; I tucked the garment of life under my arm, and then departed.
> The hand of Fate gave me the pill that purges the spirit; I uttered a hundred effective curses on her pill,[10] and then departed.

Habash 'Amid ordered his men to roll him up in a piece of felt and crush his limbs and members in the way they beat felt.

In the year 649/1251–2, when we were returning from the *ordu* of Ghaimish, I went to the Court of Yesü in the train of the Emir Arghun. When I paid my respects to the *imam* Baha-ad-Din, he first recited the following verse before uttering anything else:

> *When the generous man is generous, he is generous by himself; but when the son of the generous man is generous, he makes them both generous.*

[232] And he distinguished me with the glance of honour and respect.

Baha-ad-Din united lofty descent with noble attainments, for on his father's side he was hereditary *shaikh-al-Islam* of Farghana, while on his mother's side he was related to Toghan Khan,[11] who was the khan and ruler of that country; and as for his noble attainments, he joined to the lofty rank of vizier to which he had risen the nobility of every kind of spiritual and temporal knowledge. Of a truth, I found his presence the meeting-place

[10] I.e. *ḥabb-asb*, which can also be read *Ḥabash*.

[11] On Toghan Khan, the Qara-Khanid ruler of Kashghar, who died in 408/1017–18, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274–5 and 279–82.

of all the savants in the world and the resort of the *sadrs* of the horizons. Whoever had a capital of the goods of learning (for which there is no sale) always found a market for his wares with Baha-ad-Din and was relieved by his mercy and compassion. It would take long to relate his accomplishments and virtues, but there is neither time nor space to record them. And what person of merit hath Fate reared up whom she hath not cast down again ?

> To what cypress hath she given loftiness which she did not
> bend again with sorrow ?
>
> *O Time, why dost thou all thy life tend the gardens of noble*
> *deeds, both shoots and luxuriant plants ?*
> *O Time, what hast thou to do with the noble ones that sit*
> *in the highest places ? What harm would it do thee if*
> *thou left one noble man ?* [12]

The Emir Baha-ad-Din was survived by sons and small infants, and Habash 'Amid wished to send all his male children after their father.

[12] Abul-Faraj b. Abu-Hasin, the cadi of Aleppo. (M.Q.)

In the name of God Almighty!

The second part of Juvaini's History of the World-Conqueror

[I]

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SULTANS OF KHORAZM (*MAY GOD MAKE BRIGHT THEIR EXAMPLE!*)

It is recorded in the *Masharib-at-Tajarib*[1] of Ibn-Funduq al-Baihaqi, which is the continuation of the *Tajarib-al-Umam*,[2] and is likewise mentioned in the historical section of Razi's *Jawami'-al-'Ulum*,[3] which latter work was written for Sultan Tekish, that a certain Bilge-Tegin[4] was one of the principal officials of the House of Seljuq, just as under the Samanids Alp-Tegin[5] was Army Commander of Khorasan. This Bilge-Tegin purchased from Gharchistan[6] a Turkish slave [2] called Nush-Tegin Gharcha, who by dint of intelligence and sagacity gradually attained to greatness of rank, until he became an important official in the House of Seljuq, just as Sebük-Tegin[7] in the

[1] On the *Mashārib-at-Tajārib wa-Ghawārib-al-Gharā'ib* of Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Zaid of Baihaq see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 31.

[2] *Tajārib-al-Umam* ('Experiences of the Nations') is the title of a celebrated historical work by Abu-'Ali Ahmad b. Muhammad Miskawaih. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 31–2.

[3] The *Jawāmi'-al-'Ulūm* was the name of an encyclopedia compiled by the famous theologian Fakhr-ad-Din Abu-'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. 'Umar ar-Razi.

[4] In Turkish 'Wise Lord'.

[5] Alp-Tegin ('Brave Lord') was the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty.

[6] The mountainous region of Gharchistān lay to the east of Badghis along the Upper Murghab. It corresponds to the modern Firuzkuh.

[7] 'Beloved Lord' from the Turkish *sebük* (*sevük*) 'beloved' and *tegin* 'lord'. See Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 16. Sebük-Tegin (976–97), the slave, son-in-law and successor of Alp-Tegin, was the father of the celebrated Sultan Mahmud (998–1030).

latter days of the Samanids, and received the title of Basin (*tasht-dār*).[8] Now in those days the expenses of this off met by the revenues of Khorazm, just as the expense Wardrobe were paid from the revenues of Khuzistan. Tegin, in consequence, was given the title of *shahna* of K

Several sons were born to him, the eldest of whom, ad-Din Muhammad, he put to school at Merv in order might learn the etiquette and ceremonial of leadersh command.

At that time Berk-Yaruq[9] son of Malik-Shah had c the absolute viceroyalty of all his empire upon Dadbeg I son of Altun-Taq, the Emir of Khorasan, in whose prai poems were composed by the poets of the age, his official pa being Abul-Ma'ali Nahhas of Ray. Dadbeg Habashi transferred the office of Khorazm-Shah from Ekinchi Qochqar[10] Khorazm-Shah, a slave of Sanjar, to C Din Muhammad, conferring that title upon him in 491/1097–8. From thence onward Qutb-ad-Din o occasions distinguished himself in the service of the Se will be found recorded in works of history. For thirty ruled Khorazm in ease and contentment, one year co person to attend at Sanjar's court and the next year sen son Atsiz[11] in his place, and so he continued until hi

In 522/1128 he was succeeded by his son Atsiz. renowned for his virtues and accomplishments; he is th of many Persian poems and quatrains. In courage and [4] he dwarfed all his peers and equals; he won many in the service of Sultan Sanjar and was constant in the fu of his duties as a vassal; whereof one example is the fol In the year 524/1129–30 Sultan Sanjar had passed int

[8] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 323, 'the superintendent of the roya utensils'. The *tasht-dār* was the servant in charge of the wash-basin (ewer offered after meals, etc.

[9] 1094–1104. His name means 'Strong Brightness'.

[10] Ekinchi, i.e. 'the Sower'. See Houtsma, *Glossar*, 31. *qochq* Turkish for 'ram'. On Ekinchi as an authority on the great mi Turkish tribes in the 11th century see Minorsky, *Marvazi*, 101 and 10

[11] 'Horseless.'

soxiana to quell the rebellion of Tamghach-Khan[12] and upon arriving in Bokhara had gone one day to his hunting grounds; where a number of slaves and domestics, who had but recently been enlisted in his service, had plotted to waylay the Sultan and make an end of him. Atsiz, who had not gone hunting that day, awoke at noon from his sleep, called for a horse and hurried off to join the Sultan. When he arrived, the Sultan, surrounded by that rabble, was indeed in an evil case and fallen into a desperate strait. Atsiz at once charged down upon those wretches and rescued the Sultan. The latter asked him how he had become aware of his plight, and he replied: 'I dreamt that an accident had befallen the Sultan in the hunting grounds, and I at once hastened to his side.'

On account of this display of loyalty the affairs of Atsiz prospered; his power and prestige increased daily, and the Sultan was ever conferring fresh honours and favours upon him. He became in consequence an object of envy to the other *maliks* and emirs, and because of their jealousy they plotted against him and made attempts on his life. From Zul-Qa'da of the year 529 [August–September, 1135] when the Sultan marched against Ghazna to crush the rebellion of Bahram-Shah[13] until Shavval of the next year [July–August, 1136] when he arrived in Balkh, Atsiz was ever in attendance on him. In the course of these journeyings he had become aware of the intrigues of those envious emirs and of the ill-will they bore him, and was also apprehensive regarding the Sultan himself. He obtained leave to return home; and as he was departing the Sultan remarked to his courtiers: 'There goes the back of one whose face we shall not see again.' They answered: 'If Your Majesty

[12] This was the Qara-Khanid ruler Arslan-Khan Muhammad b. Sulaiman (1102–30), on whom see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 319–21. That he was also known as Tamghach-Khan is confirmed by 'Aufi and the author of the *Kitāb-i-Mullā-Zāda*. (*Ibid.*, 319, n. 2.) On this Qara-Khanid title ('Emperor of China') see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 304, *Histoire des Turcs*, 77–8. The Tamghach or rather Tabghach (Tavghach), in Chinese T'o-pa, were a Turkish or proto-Mongol people who founded the Chinese dynasty of the Wei (436–557) and whose name became synonymous with Northern China. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 103–9, Hambis, *La Haute-Asie*, 29–31, Gabain, 2.

[13] The Ghaznavid (1118–52).

is certain of this, why then did he obtain leave to return home and receive such kindness?' [5] And he replied: 'The services he has rendered us have placed us under a great obligation to him: to harm him would be contrary to our tenets of generosity and clemency.'

Arriving in Khorazm Atsiz entered upon the path of frowardness and rebellion, and day by day the ill-will increased on either side and finally reached such a pitch that in Muharram of the year 553 [September–October, 1138] Sultan Sanjar marched into Khorazm to do him battle. The Khorazm-Shah got together an army to oppose that of the Sultan and even set it in fighting array; and then, without making any attempt to offer battle, realizing he could place little confidence in his troops, he sought safety in flight. His son Atligh was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultan, who gave orders that he should be immediately cut in half. Sanjar then conferred the kingdom of Khorazm upon his nephew Sulaiman b. Muhammad and returned to Khorasan; whereupon Atsiz re-entered Khorazm and Sultan Sulaiman fled before him and returned to Sanjar. And Atsiz continued in the path of frowardness and rebellion until the year 536/1141–2, when Sanjar was defeated in the battle against Khitai[14] at the gates of Samarqand and came fleeing to Balkh (the story is well known): Atsiz then seized his opportunity and marched against Merv, looting the city and making great slaughter of the inhabitants. Thereafter he returned to Khorazm.

Here we reproduce a letter from the correspondence which passed between the *hakim* Hasan Qattan [6] and Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat concerning the books that were lost from the former's library during the pillaging of Merv and which he suspected Vatvat of having appropriated:

'It has reached my ear from the mouths of those that arrive in Khorazm and from the tongues of those that journey hither that Your Honour (may God perpetuate his excellence!), when he is not busy with his private affairs or occupied with his lectures, doth proceed in his assemblies to speak evil of me and to abuse and defame me at great length. And

[14] I.e. Qara-Khitai. See above, p. 44, n. 2.

he accuseth me of plundering his library and exceedeth himself in tearing down the veils and coverings of generosity. Doth this beseem virtue and humanity, is it in accordance with generosity and manliness that thou shouldst fabricate concerning a brother Moslem so disturbing a lie and so painful a calumny? By God, when the trumpet shall be blown upon the Day of Resurrection, and when these rotten bones shall be dispatched from the tomb to be clad in the raiment of the Second Life; when the servants of God shall be gathered together at the stations of the plains, and when the leaves of men's deeds shall be scattered upon their doers; when every soul shall be asked concerning that which it hath gained—both that of the sinner who shall be dragged face downward into hellfire and that of the righteous man who shall be borne on the shoulders of the angels into Paradise: none shall in that dreadful place lay hold of my skirt seeking of me property that I seized, or wealth that I pillaged, or blood that I shed, or a veil that I rent away, or a man that I slew, or a right that I denied. For, behold, God hath placed me by lawful means in the way of [7] *a thousand volumes of choice books and noble treatises, and I have bequeathed them all to the libraries that have been founded in the countries of Islam, that the Moslems might profit by them. And whoever holdeth such tenets, how could he find it in his heart to rob the books of a learned* imam *that hath expended the whole of his life in gathering together a few paltry leaves such as, were they sold with their leather bindings, would not fetch the price of a miser's dinner? Of a truth, let Your Honour fear God, let him not—may God perpetuate his excellence!—be guilty of fabricating a lie against the like of me, and let him not commit a sin that will cleave to his skirts on the Day of Judgement. Let him fear God, than Whom there is no other god, and let him think of the day when the truthteller shall be rewarded for his truthtelling and the liar punished for his lying. Farewell!'*

Because of this weakening of the Sultan's position vainglory waxed great in the brain of Atsiz. Rashid Vatvat has a *qasida* on this subject, of which the following is the opening line:

> King Atsiz ascended the throne of the kingdom: the
> luck of Seljuq and his family came to an end.

And he has other *qasidas* in the same strain.

Sultan Sanjar, in order to take vengeance for this shameful

act, set out for Khorazm to make war on him in the year 538/1143–4; and halting at the gates of the town he set up his mangonels and unfurled the standard of battle. But when the moment was at hand when Khorazm should have been conquered and the weal of Atsiz changed to woe, he dispatched gifts and presents to the emirs of the Court and sought the Sultan's pardon [8] and courted his favour. The Sultan was mollified and turned back along the path of peace and reconciliation, whereupon Atsiz raised the head of rebellion in his wonted manner. The Sultan then sent Adib Sabir upon a mission to him and Adib remained for some time in Khorazm. Meanwhile, Atsiz had suborned two Khorazmian ruffians of the sect of the Heresy,[15] buying their souls and paying the price, and had sent them to slay the Sultan unawares. Adib Sabir learnt of this circumstance, and he wrote a description of the two men and sent it to Merv in the leg of an old woman's boot. When the letter reached Sanjar he ordered a search to be made for the men; and they were discovered in a tavern and dispatched unto hellfire. When Atsiz learnt of this he flung Adib Sabir into the Oxus.

In Jumada II, 542 [October–November, 1147], the Sultan again attacked Khorazm; and first he besieged for two months the small town of Hazar-Asf,[16] which in the present age was submerged after [the passage of] the Mongol army. Anvari, who was in attendance on Sanjar in this campaign, wrote the following quatrain upon an arrow, which he let fly into Hazar-Asf:

O king, all the empire of the earth is accounted thine;
By fortune and good luck the world is thy acquisition:
Take Hazar-Asf[17] to-day with a single assault,
And to-morrow Khorazm and a hundred thousand horses shall be thine.

Vatvat, who was in Hazar-Asf, wrote the following lines upon the arrow and shot it back:

[15] I.e. the heresy (*ilḥād*) of the Isma'ilis. See above, p. 256, n. 28.

[16] Or Hazar-Asp, as it is called to this day.

[17] Or 'a thousand horses', the literal meaning of Hazar-Asp, from the Persian *hazār* 'thousand' and *asp* (*asb*) 'horse'.

If thine enemy, O king, were the hero Rustam himself,
He could not carry forth a single ass from thy thousand horses.

[9] After much toil and countless trouble the Sultan finally took Hazar-Asf. And because of the verse previously mentioned and the lines quoted above and other similar poems he was greatly wroth with Vatvat and had sworn that when he was found his seven limbs should be torn asunder. Accordingly he made great efforts to trace him issuing proclamation after proclamation. Meanwhile Vatvat [lay hidden] all night on a roof-top and all day in a riverbed.[18] Then, realizing that flight would avail him nothing, he secretly approached the king's ministers, but none of them, seeing the Sultan's wrath, would undertake to intercede on his behalf. By virtue of their common profession he then sought refuge with the uncle of the great-grandfather of the author of these lines, Muntajab-ad-Din Badi' al-Katib *(may God water the surface of his grave with the clouds of His sanctity!).* Muntajab-ad-Din, since he united the office of scribe with that of courtier, was accustomed to approach the Sultan at the time of the morning prayer before the dignitaries of the Divan came in, and after the performance of the prayer he would begin to give advice and would relate some merry tale suitable to the occasion after the serious business was over; and the Sultan used to consult him about the secrets of the kingdom. To be brief, the conversation gradually came round to Rashid Vatvat and Muntajab-ad-Din rose to his feet and said: 'I have a request if Your Majesty will grant it.' The Sultan having promised to do so, Muntajab-ad-Din went on: 'Vatvat is but a puny little bird;[19] [10] he will not bear being divided into seven pieces. If Your Majesty so command, let him be simply cut in two.' Whereupon the Sultan laughed and spared Vatvat's life.

When the Sultan reached the gates of Khorazm, an ascetic called Zahid-i-Ahu-Push,[20] whose food and clothing was the flesh and hide of the deer, presented himself before Sanjar and

[18] Not to be taken literally: *vaṭvāṭ* (*waṭwāṭ*) in Arabic means 'swallow' or 'swift'.

[19] Cf. the preceding note.

[20] I.e. 'the hermit clad in deerskins'.

after delivering a goodly sermon interceded for the people of the town. Atsiz too sent messengers bearing gifts and presents and offering excuses. The Sultan, who was clemency and forgiveness personified, pardoned his faults for the third time, and it was arranged that Atsiz should come to the banks of the Oxus and make obeisance to him. On Monday the 12th of Muharram, 543 [2nd of June, 1148], Atsiz came and made obeisance on horseback; and then rode off before the Sultan could turn rein. Though Sanjar was incensed at this lack of respect, yet since he had already pardoned him he swallowed his anger as best he could and said nothing. And at once he was distinguished with the excellence of the verse: '*And who master their anger and forgive others,*' [21] for '*God loveth the doers of good.*' [21]

And when the Sultan reached Khorasan he dispatched messengers and distinguished Atsiz with donatives and gratuities. Atsiz for his part received the messengers with every respect and sent them back with many gifts and presents. Hereafter Atsiz went on several campaigns against the infidels [22] and gained the victory over them. At that time the ruler of Jand was Kamal-ad-Din,[23] the son of Arslan-Khan Mahmud, and there was great friendship between them. When Atsiz had conquered most of that region he set out in Muharram, 547 [April–May, 1152], for Suqnaq and the other territories [beyond] intending to proceed thither together with Kamal-ad-Din. He had reached the neighbourhood of Jand when Kamal-ad-Din took fright and fled with his army to [11] Rudbar.[24] When Atsiz learnt of his alarm and flight, he sent a number of the notables and chief men to reassure him with promises and safeguards. Kamal-ad-Din came to join him, and he ordered him to be put in chains, in which he remained until his death.

Kamal-ad-Din had been on terms of friendship and affection with Rashid Vatvat, and Atsiz was now given to understand that Vatvat had been aware of Kamal-ad-Din's attitude. For

[21] Koran, iii, 128. [22] I.e. the heathen Turks.

[23] Apparently a Qara-Khanid. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 328.

[24] Perhaps the Rūdbār in the province of Shāsh (the present-day Tashkent). See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 174, n. 3.

this reason he dismissed him from his service for a while. Vatvat has both *qasidas* and *qit'as* on this subject. The following are two or three verses from such a *qit'a*:

> O king, when Destiny saw that the hand of thy magnificence was no longer laid on my head, she ground my body under the foot of oppression.
> Without the fairness of thy favour and the goodness of thy grace, the World decreased my comfort and Destiny increased my pain.
> Look upon me with greater kindness, for should aught befall me, then, by God, Destiny will show no other like unto me.

And here are some verses from another:

> For thirty years thy servant did sing thy praises in the shoe-rank,[25] and thou didst call for those praises from thy throne.
> The Lord of the [Heavenly] Throne knoweth that never did there stand in any court such a singer of praises as thy servant,
> Now thy heart hath grown weary of him that was thy servant for thirty years: weariness findeth its way into thy heart because of the length of time.
> But the proverb says: 'When the master is annoyed he findeth fault'—and yet thy wretched servant is blameless.

[12] And when Jand was purged of rebels Atsiz dispatched Abul-Fath Il-Arslan[26] thither and set him over that region.

And it was in this year that the Ghuzz host *(ḥasham)* was victorious and took Sultan Sanjar prisoner, setting him by day upon a royal throne and keeping him at night in an iron cage.[27] Desirous of seizing the kingdom but giving as his pretext that

[25] 'The "shoe-rank" (*Ṣaffu'n-ni'ál* in Arabic, *pá-máchán* in Persian) is the place by the door where those who enter kick off their shoes, and where servants and humble visitors take their stand.' (Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 332, n. 1.)

[26] His son and successor.

[27] *qafaṣ-i-āhan*. The cage would appear to have been a real one, unlike that in which the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid was said to have been imprisoned by Tamerlane. The story of this latter cage, 'so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson', was already in Gibbon's day 'rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity'. See Gibbon, VII, 60 and n. 53.

he was fulfilling his obligations to his benefactor, Atsiz set out for Amuya with all his following and troops. He advanced very slowly and upon reaching Amuya endeavoured to possess himself of the castle by diplomacy. However, the governor refused to listen to him, and he sent a message to Sultan Sanjar to make professions of fealty and loyalty and to crave the castle of Amuya. The Sultan sent the following reply: 'We begrudge thee not the castle, but first send Il-Arslan with an army to our assistance, and then we shall grant thee the castle of Amuya and the double thereof.' Emissaries passed twice or thrice between them with question and answer, but finally, in the face of this refusal, Atsiz turned back and went to Khorazm, from whence he again prepared a foray against the infidel.

At this juncture Rukn-ad-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad Boghra-Khan,[28] the nephew of Sultan Sanjar, to whom the army had sworn allegiance and whom they had set on the throne of the Sultanate as Sanjar's successor, bethought himself of his former friendship with Atsiz and sent a messenger from Khorasan to seek his assistance in quenching the flame of the Ghuzz. The Khorazm-Shah accordingly set out for Shahristana taking Il-Arslan with him and leaving another son, Khitai-Khan,[29] in Khorazm as regent. Upon reaching Shahristana he summoned the emirs of that region in order to restore order to a kingdom that had been lost and to affairs that had become distraught. Meanwhile news [13] arrived that the Emir 'Imad-ad-Din Ahmad b. Abu-Bakr Qamaj had dispatched a thousand horsemen and carried off Sultan Sanjar from the hunting field bearing him to Tirmiz. Nobles and commoners rejoiced and made merry; and the Khorazm-Shah halted in Nisa to wait for Mahmud Khan and the other emirs. These now regretted both his coming and their having sent for him. However they dispatched 'Aziz-ad-Din Tughra'i and concluded a treaty with

[28] The son of Arslan-Khan, on whom see above, p. 279, n. 12. His father is here wrongly given the title of Boghra-Khan, probably on account of a confusion with his uncle Abul-Muzaffar Tamghach-Boghra-Khan Ibrahim. Mahmud Khan had abandoned his territories in Transoxiana after the defeat of Sanjar by the *gür-khan*. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 322 and 326.

[29] Cf. the Qara-Khanid title of Tamghach-Khan. See above, p. 279, n. 12.

him. He then departed and went to Khabushan of Ustuva, whither came Khaqan Rukn-ad-Din from Nishapur. They met and trod together the pathway of friendship, remaining in each other's company for three months striving to repair the ruin of the kingdom. One day the Khorazm-Shah held a feast to which he invited Khaqan Rukn-ad-Din. The following is a verse in their praise from a *qasida* of Vatvat:

> They are united like two auspicious stars in one house,
> two monarchs in one happy court.

After this the Khorazm-Shah fell ill. One day in the midst of his illness there reached him the sound of someone reciting the Koran. Thinking to take an augury he listened intently and bade his courtiers be silent. The reader had reached the following verse: '*Neither knoweth any soul in which land it shall die.*'[30] He took this as an evil omen; his illness grew worse; and on the night of the 9th of Jumada II, 551 [30th of July, 1156], he passed away and the pride of haughtiness and arrogance went out of his head. [14] Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat wept over his body and pointing to it said:

> 'O King, Heaven trembled at thy severity, it laboured
> like a slave before thee.
> Where is there a man of discernment to consider whether
> all thy kingdom was worth but this?'

After four days had passed his death was made known and Il-Arslan set out for Khorazm; and on his journey thither all the emirs and soldiers swore allegiance to him. He imprisoned his younger brother, Sulaiman-Shah, on whose brow he had observed the signs of rebellion, and executed Oghul-Beg, his *atabeg*. And on the 3rd of Rajab of the same year [22nd of August, 1156] he ascended the throne of the Khorazm-Shahs; whereupon he arrested some that harboured thoughts of ill-will and granted the emirs and soldiers more pay and larger fiefs than they had had in his father's day; he likewise bestowed many charities. Rukn-ad-Din Mahmud Khan sent envoys to

[30] Koran, xxxi, 34.

congratulate him on his accession and to condole with him on his father's death.

And when news came that on the 6th of Rabi' I, 552 [8th of May, 1157], Sultan Sanjar had passed into the nearness of God, the people of Khorazm sat down in mourning for three days.

And in the year 553/1158–9 some of the chiefs of the Qarlugh that dwelt in Khorazm, under the leadership of Lachin Beg and the sons of Bighu Khan [31] and others like them, fled from the Khan of Samarqand, Jalal-ad-Din 'Ali b. al-Husain [32] known as Kök-Saghir,[33] and came to Khorazm saying that Jalal-ad-Din had slain Bighu Khan, who was the leader of the Qarlugh, and had designs upon the leaders. The Khorazm-Shah Il-Arslan [15] gave them encouragement and in Jumada II of the same year [July, 1158] set out for Transoxiana. When the Khan of Samarqand received the report of his approach he sought refuge in the citadel and took with him into Samarqand all the nomad Turcomans that lived between Qara-Köl and Jand. He appealed to the Qara-Khitai for help and they sent Ilig Türkmen [34] to the rescue with ten thousand horse. Meanwhile the Khorazm-Shah, having encouraged the people of Bokhara with promises, set out from thence for Samarqand. The Khan of Samarqand, for his part, drew up his forces, and the two armies halted on either side of the Sughd River, the

[31] BYΓW. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333, reads this name Payghū but suggests the reading Yabghū. (*yabghu* was the title of the ancient rulers of the Qarluq. See *Ḥudūd*, 97.) On the other hand, Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 16, prefers to see in it the Turkish word *bïghu*, 'nom d'un oiseau de proie assez analogue au faucon'. Cf. the name of the other Qarluq leader Lachīn, i.e. 'the Falcon'.

[32] His father's name was actually Hasan—Qïlïch-Tamghach-Khan Abul-Ma'ali Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Mu'min, also known as Hasan Tegin. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 322 and 333.

[33] KWK SAΓR. Perhaps 'Blue Ox'. Cf. the form *saghïr* in Houtsma, *Glossar*, 81, for the normal *sïghïr* 'ox'. He also bore the title of Chaghrï-Khan. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333 and n. 5. *chaghrï* according to Kashghari was one of the innumerable Turkish words for 'hawk' or 'falcon'.

[34] AYLK TRKMAN, i.e. apparently Ilig the Turcoman. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333, n. 10, suggests that this was perhaps the former ruler of Balasaqun, on whom see below, p. 355 and n. 7. *ilig* is an Old Turkish word for 'king'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 16.

young men attacking each other in skirmishes. But when Ilig Türkmen saw the Khorazm-Shah and his army he began to humble and abase himself, and the *imams* and *ulema* of Samarqand engaged in intercession and supplication and sued for peace. The Khorazm-Shah acceded to their prayers and having restored the Qarlugh emirs to their posts with full honours he returned to Khorazm.

Now after the death of the Sultan, Mahmud Khan had ascended the throne, but because of the Ghuzz and the victories of Mu'ayyid Ai-Aba,[35] who had been a *ghulam*[36] at Sanjar's court [16], where he was distinguished above the other *ghulams* for his horsemanship and skill in racing, the affairs of Khorasan were confused and distraught. And in Ramazan, 557 [August–September, 1162] Mu'ayyid Ai-Aba took Sultan Mahmud out of the inner city of Nishapur and blinded him; and he died in the castle in which he had been imprisoned. And in the year 558/1162–3 the Khorazm-Shah set out for Shadyakh with a numerous army and a mighty host; and for a while he besieged Ai-Aba there, till envoys passed between them, and they made peace, and he returned to Khorazm.

And in the year 566/1170–1 the armies *(ḥasham)* of Khitai and Transoxiana gathered in great numbers to attack him. Upon receiving tidings hereof he made ready for battle and sent 'Ayyar Beg, his commander-in-chief, who was one of the Qarlugh of Transoxiana, on [17] in advance to Amuya. Before the Khorazm-Shah's arrival the armies had already joined battle: 'Ayyar Beg's army was put to flight, and he himself was taken prisoner. Il-Arslan fell ill and returning to Khorazm he died upon the 19th of Rajab of the same year [8th of August, 1170].

His younger son, Sultan-Shah, who was his heir apparent, ascended the throne of Khorazm in succession to his father; and his mother, Queen Terken, administered the kingdom. His elder brother, Tekish, was then in Jand. A messenger was sent to summon him but he refused to come. An army was then

[35] On the name see above, p. 148, n. 26.

[36] On the career of the *ghulām* ('slave') as a member of the sovereign's personal guard see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 227.

fitted out to attack him, and upon receiving tidings of this he fled and betook himself to the daughter of the Khan of Khans of Qara-Khitai, who at that time herself bore the title of Khan,[37] the affairs of the kingdom being administered by her husband, Fuma.[38] When he had come to them Tekish promised them all the treasures and wealth of Khorazm and undertook, once the country was subjugated, to send a yearly tribute. Fuma was accordingly dispatched to accompany Tekish with a numerous army. When they drew near to Khorazm, Sultan-Shah and his mother, rather than fight and do battle, took the straight road before them and joined the *malik* Mu'ayyid; and on Monday the 22nd of [18] Rabi' I, 568 [Monday the 11th of December, 1172], Tekish entered Khorazm and ascended the throne of the Khorazm-Shahs. Each of the poets and orators composed congratulatory speeches and poems. Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat, who had passed his eightieth year in the service of his ancestors, was brought before Tekish on a litter. 'Everyone,' he said, 'has composed his congratulations in accordance with his fancy and talent. But as for thy servant, because of the weakness of my constitution and the greatness of my age my strength is unequal to the task. I must confine myself to a single quatrain that I have composed for luck's sake:

> Thy grandsire washed tyranny off the page of the world;
> Thy father's justice repaired whate'er was broken;
> O thou, whom the cloak of the Sultanate exactly fits,
> Come, let us see what thou canst do for 'tis thy turn to rule.'

And Tekish performed the rites of justice and equity and having fulfilled his obligations to Fuma sent him back with all honour and respect.

As for the mother of Sultan-Shah she sent the *malik* Mu'ayyid presents consisting of precious jewels and all kinds of treasures

[37] This was P'u-su-wan, the Empress Ch'êng-t'ien (1164–77). She was the sister of the late Khan, the Emperor Yi-lieh (1151–63), and the daughter of the original *gür-khan*, Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124–43). See Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao*, 621 and 644.

[38] Reading FWMA with Barthold for the FRMA of the text. Fuma is really a title, the Chinese *fu-ma* 'imperial son-in-law'. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 337 and n. 3, Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 665 and 670.

red him the kingdom of Khorazm and all its territory, of the attachment of the people and the army to mother . In the end the *malik* Mu'ayyid was deluded by their and the Satanish whisperings of his lust for land and ed him far astray from the path of righteousness. He his scattered forces and set out for Khorazm with hah and his mother. When they reached Suburni [39] own which is now submerged in the river, Mu'ayyid's ing unable to cross the desert in one body, they proceeded ments not knowing that the Khorazm-Shah himself had Suburni. The *malik* Mu'ayyid was in the van. When ed Suburni Tekish fell upon his detachment, slew the part of them and took Mu'ayyid himself prisoner. He ught before him and was cut in half at the door of his his event fell out on the ninth of Zul-Hijja, 569 [11th of 74].

while Sultan-Shah and his mother fled to Dihistan.[40] followed them thither and Dihistan surrendered to him: Sultan-Shah's mother to death and returned home. Shah fled from thence and made his way to Shadyakh, Toghan-Shah, the son of the *malik* Mu'ayyid, had taken ence in succession to his father. He remained some time apur, but Toghan-Shah being unable to assist him with money he went from thence to join the Sultans of Ghur [41] l hold of the skirt of appeal to them: they welcomed th the kindnesses that are shown to such guests.

text has SWBRLY. There are many variant spellings. According it was the last place in Khorazm on the road to Shahristan (i.e. to). See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 153 and 337, n. 5.

stān was the name of a district north of the Atrek on the eastern shores spian, in what is now Turkmenistan. 'Dihistān undoubtedly echoes of the ancient nomad people *Δάαι Dabae* one of whose branches were oi; from the latter arose the family of the future Parthian rulers. . . .' *, Ḥudūd*, 386.)

Ghiyāṣ-ad-Din Muhammad and his younger brother Shihāb-ad-Dīn nad Ghūr). On the Sultans of Ghur (the Ghurids or Ghorids) see *op. cit.*, 338–9, Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 291–4. 'The Ghūr was borne by the mountain region situated to the east and south- rāt and south of Gharjistān and Gūzgān; the dialect of these moun- iffered materially from that of Khurāsān.' (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 338.)

As for Sultan Tekish, he had completed the restoration of order in Khorazm and the affairs of the kingdom were in good trim. Meanwhile the envoys of Khitai were continually passing to and fro, and their constant impositions and demands were beyond endurance, and moreover they did not observe the conventions of courtesy. Now the nobility of the soul necessarily refuses to tolerate oppression and will not bear to accept tyranny. '*The nature of a free soul is filled with pride.*' He caused one of the notables of Khitai, who had come upon an embassy, to be put to death on account of his unseemly behaviour; and there was an exchange of abuse between Tekish and the people of Khitai.

When Sultan-Shah learnt of this estrangement between them he rejoiced and considered it a sign [20] of his own good fortune. The Khitayans, in order to despite Tekish, summoned him to them; and at his request Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din dispatched him thither with ample gear and equipment. When he left Ghiyas-al-Din the latter turned to his emirs and said: 'It has occurred to me that this man would have stirred up sedition in Khorasan and must needs have caused us much toil and trouble. Perchance this was a divine inspiration.'

Upon arriving in Khitai Sultan-Shah spoke of his popularity with the people of Khorazm and with the army, and they sent Fuma to assist him with a large army. When they reached the neighbourhood of Khorazm Tekish flooded the way of passage with the waters of the Oxus; and on this account they were unable to move to and fro. The Sultan then made ready for battle within the town and disposed his thrusting and striking weapons. Fuma halted at the gates, and seeing of Sultan-Shah's popularity with that people no sign save strife and contention he repented of his precipitance and made ready to return home. Sultan-Shah perceived that no good would come of the attack on Khorazm, and knowing of no other means of escape he asked Fuma to send a detachment of his army to escort him to Sarakhs. Fuma granted his request, and he fell upon Sarakhs and attacked Malik Dinar, who was one of the Ghuzz emirs. Most of the defenders he made fodder of the sword, and Malik

Dinar himself he hurled into the castle moat. He was pulled out of the water by the hair by those inside the castle, in which the remainder of the Ghuzz now sought refuge. Sultan-Shah then set out for Merv, where he took up his abode, sending back the army of Khitai. And he made constant attacks upon Sarakhs until most of the Ghuzz had been scattered. [21] As for Malik Dinar, finding himself powerless in the fortress, for most of his men had deserted him, and he was left like a bad dinar at the bottom of the purse, he sent a message to Toghan-Shah to ask for Bistam in place of Sarakhs. Toghan-Shah granted his request and sent the Emir 'Umar of Firuzkuh [42] to Sarakhs to take over the castle from him; and Malik Dinar departed to Bistam.[43]

When Sultan Tekish came to Jajarm from Khorazm on his way to Iraq Malik Dinar abandoned his dinars and his fief and went to join Toghan-Shah. The latter then recalled 'Umar of Firuzkuh from Sarakhs and sent in his stead the Emir Qara-Qush, who was one of his father's *ghulams*. Meanwhile, Sultan-Shah made ready to attack Sarakhs with less than three thousand men and sought an opportunity to break and violate his covenant and agreement. Toghan-Shah, for his part, set out from Nishapur with ten thousand men fully equipped with money and supplies and marched against Sarakhs intent on battle. In Asiya-yi-Hafs on Wednesday the 22nd of Zul-Hijja, 576 [13th of May, 1181], the millstone *(āsiyā)* of war began to turn, and the warriors entered the field from either side; and after much strife and carnage the shock of the onslaught of Sultan-Shah's army was the bane and ruin of Toghan-Shah; [22] and by the might of God Sultan-Shah triumphed and much wealth and property found its way as booty into his treasury, including amongst other things three hundred backgammon boards.

Sultan-Shah now made himself master of Sarakhs and Tus and all that region, and the star of his fortune rose again after setting. And being, unlike Toghan-Shah, a man of war and

[42] See below, p. 328, n. 5.

[43] Bisṭām, the modern Bustam (Bostam), was famous for the tomb of the celebrated Sufi Abu-Yazid (Bayazid), who died and was buried here in 874.

battle, not a lover of cymbal and harp, he was constantly ing the latter, so that his army grew weary, and most of h and nobles went over to Sultan-Shah, and his kingdom lustre. He appealed several times for help to Sultan and the Sultan of Ghur, sending messengers to them one occasion going to Herat in person to ask for an a assist him. It was of no avail, and he continued in t state of frustration until the night of Tuesday the 12th of ram, 581 [15th of April, 1186], when he departed fro to the next world and his son, Sanjar-Shah, was set up throne in succession to his father. Mengli Beg,[44] who *atabeg*, was now paramount and opened his hand in confi and extortions; whereupon most of Toghan-Shah's entered the service of Sultan-Shah, who gained control greater part of Toghan-Shah's territory.

As for Malik Dinar, he went to Kerman, and all the Turks, wherever there were any of them left, came to jo there.

In the beginning of the year 582/1186–7 Sultan Tekis from Khorazm to Khorasan, and Sultan-Shah availed of the opportunity to enter Khorazm at the head of a larg Sultan Tekish came to Merv and sat down before the g the town. As for Sultan-Shah, contrary to his expectatio was not admitted into Khorazm; and because of T presence at the gates of Merv he dared not remain where h Upon reaching Amuya he left most of his army there the night with only fifty men-at-arms cut his way throu armies of [23] Tekish and entered Merv. The next day, the Sultan learnt that his brother had entered the tow fortified himself there, he turned rein and without waiting hastened away to Shadyakh. In Rabi' I, 582 [March– 1186], he sat down before that town and besieged Sanjar and Mengli Beg for two months. When peace had established and the Sultan had returned home, he sent S ad-Din Mas'ud the Grand Chamberlain, Saif-ad-Din M Shir the Table-Decker and Baha-ad-Din of Baghdad the

[44] Ibn-al-Athir calls him Mengli Tegin. (M.Q.)

upon a mission to Mengli Beg to conclude the treaty of peace and confirm the agreement to which he had engaged himself. The Sultan's domestics not having accompanied them Mengli Beg sent them in chains to Sultan-Shah, and they remained imprisoned until a reconciliation was effected between the brothers.

Now the *imam* Burhan-ad-Din Abu-Sa'id b. al-Imam Fakhr-ad-Din 'Abd-al-'Aziz of Kufa was in the service of the Sultan. He was one of the greatest savants and the most distinguished *imams* of the day and held in high esteem by the sultans of the age; and the posts of Cadi and *shaikh-al-Islam* of Khorasan were entrusted to him. Of the products of his mind are these two or three verses which he sent to Kufa and which were dictated *(imlā)* to me by a friend when I was writing this account of him:

Will returning to the confines of Kufa slake the thirst
of longing before my death?
*And shall I walk in the morning between al-Kunas and *Kinda*[45]
shedding my tears upon those hills?
[24] *God preserve my companions in Iraq even though they have flung the*
whole of my life from them in shattered fragments.

After the conclusion of peace he entered Shadyakh, and Mengli Beg seized him and put him to death.

Upon hearing the tidings of his brother's return home, Sultan-Shah, in conformity with his custom and his desire to hold sway over the territory of Nishapur, again advanced on Shadyakh and fought there for a while; but perceiving that he made no progress and that the townspeople were too strong for him, he turned from thence to Sabzavar, to which he laid siege, setting up his mangonels. The people of Sabzavar hurled insults at him and he grew angry and exerted every effort to take the town. When the inhabitants were in desperate straits and were left without asylum or means of escape, they approached Ahmad-i-Badili, the *shaikh* of the age, who was one of the saints *(abdāl)*

[45] Al-Kunās must be an abbreviated form of al-Kunāsa, the name of a quarter of Kufa. The vocalization of KNDH is quite uncertain. It is clearly not identical with Kinda, a district in the Yemen. (M.Q.)

of this world and without peer in the religious and mystic sciences. He went forth to save them and interceded with Sultan-Shah, who received him with marks of respect and granted his prayer for fair pardon and condonation of their faults and hasty utterances. Now Shaikh Ahmad was a native of Sabzavar, and as he left the town on his mission of intercession the people hurled abuse at him on account of their quarrel with the Sufis [46] and the *shaikhs*. And he said: 'If there had been a more refractory people than this, Ahmad, my teacher,[47] would have sent me to them.' They shot an arrow after him and it hit him in the heel; but he paid no attention. Shaikh Ahmad is the author of mystic poetry, *ghazals*, quatrains and epistles. The following [25] is one of his quatrains:

> O soul, if thou cleansest thyself from the dust of the body,
> Thou wilt become a holy spirit in the heavens.
> A throne is thy seat: art thou not ashamed
> To come and dwell in an earthly abode?

Sultan-Shah entered Sabzavar but kept his word and left for Merv after remaining but an hour.

And on Friday the 14th of Muharram, 583 [27th of March, 1187], Sultan Tekish sat down before Shadyakh, set up his mangonels and began a fierce battle. Mengli Beg was finally compelled to appoint *imams* and *shaikhs* as mediators sending them to him and laying his hand upon the skirt of supplication. Tekish granted his petition and confirmed his word by oath. And Mengli Beg presenting himself before the Sultan the latter entered the town on Tuesday the 17th [48] of Rabi' I of the same year [27th of May, 1187], and spread the carpet of justice and

[46] *ahl-i-ṣuffa* had nothing to do with the Sufis but by a false etymology *ṣuffa* had been associated with *ṣūfī* (see Reckendorf in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*); therefore here probably 'the saintly people', 'the Sufis'. (V.M.)

[47] *pīr*. Possibly the reference is to Ahmad of Jam (441–536/1049–1142), whose sanctuary (the town of Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam) lies in Khorasan near the Afghan border. (V.M.)

[48] So according to E. The rest of the MSS. give the date as the 7th, but that day, as Barthold has pointed out (*op. cit.*, 346, n. 2), was actually a Sunday. The 17th of Rabi' I (which is also given in a Petrograd University MS. quoted by Barthold) would be a Wednesday, only one day out.

clemency, and cleared the site of the thorns and rubbish of injustice and oppression. He set a supervisor over Mengli Beg to see that he duly restored what he had wrongfully taken; and then in order to avenge Burhan-ad-Din—for '*the flesh of the learned is poisoned*'—he was handed over, in accordance with the *fatwas* of the *imams*, to the *imam* Fakhr-ad-Din ʿAbd-al-ʿAziz of Kufa to be put to death in vengeance for his son—'*life for life, and for wounds retaliation.*'[49] The whole region[50] of Nishapur, purged of his tyranny, was now surrendered to the Khorazm-Shah, who placed the reins of the administration thereof in the competent hands of his elder son, Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah, and in Rajab of the same year [September–October, 1187] returned to Khorazm.

Seeing that the coast was clear again Sultan-Shah at once led an army to attack Malik-Shah, and caused the inhabitants of Shadyakh to drink brimful goblets of striking and thrusting, and destroyed the greater part of the wall. And from either side the armies clashed together [26] and opposed each other in strife and battle. And Malik-Shah dispatched a relay of couriers to his father and sent letters seeking aid and assistance. Wherefore Tekish also, for his part, brooked no delay but set out with such troops as he had at hand. And he commanded a member of his bodyguard (*mufradān-i-khāṣṣ*)[51] to proceed from Nisa in the guise of a deserter and inform Sultan-Shah that Tekish had arrived in Khorasan at the head of a great army. On receiving these tidings Sultan-Shah set fire to his mangonels and departed with the humility of dust and the speed of the wind. And when the Sultan reached the town he repaired the ruins and in the winter departed to winter quarters in Mazandaran; and all the emirs of Khorasan, who had not previously joined hi. service, now attached themselves to him and were distinguished and singled out by inclusion amongst the recipients of his favour.

[49] Koran, v, 49. The full version is: '*Life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and for wounds retaliation.*'

[50] The text has *arbāʿ* '*quarters*', apparently a reference to the four 'territories' of Nishapur. See the *Ḥudūd*, 102 and 325.

[51] See below, ii, 412, in. 1.

Finally, when Spring revealed her face from behind the veil of Winter and gave the world a share of her beauty, he returned to Khorasan and encamped in the meadows of Radkan of Tus. Ambassadors passed to and fro between him and Sultan-Shah and they made peace with each other. The Khorazm-Shah, to show his good will, placed Jam, Bakharz and Zir-i-Pul [52] in the hands of Sultan-Shah; and the latter, for his part, sent back in robes of honour the Khorazm-Shah's ministers whom Mengli Beg had dispatched to him in chains; and either party was cleansed from the impurities of discord and Khorasan was purged of rebels and enemies. And on Tuesday the 18th of Jumada I, 585 [24th of July, 1189], [27] the Khorazm-Shah ascended the throne of the Sultanate in the meadows of Radkan of Tus; and his fame spread throughout the world and fear of his majestic presence took root in the hearts and minds of all creation. The poets composed many congratulatory poems and addresses upon this occasion, and 'Imadi of Zuzan has a *qasida* on this subject of which the opening lines are as follows:

> Praise be to God, from East to West hath the world
>   been confided to the sword of the World-Monarch.
> The supreme Commander, the Emperor of the Universe,
>   the Giver of signets to kings, the Lord of the Earth,
> Tekish Khan, son of Il-Arslan, son of Atsiz—kings,
>   father and son, from the time of Adam.
> He hath stridden up to the throne of victorious fortune
>   as the sun strides up to the throne of the turquoise canopy.

The Sultan showered gifts and presents upon the poets in particular and upon mankind in general; and in the autumn of that year returned to Khorazm.

Now whilst there was peace between the brothers there was constant enmity and warfare between Sultan-Shah and the Sultans of Ghur; but finally, after Sultan-Shah had been routed in the battle of Marv-ar-Rud and Panj-Dih and the pillar of his might and glory overthrown, both parties thought it expedient to come to terms and outwardly concluded peace with each other.

As for Sultan-Shah, he was constantly imposing on his

[52] Unidentified.

ıer and made many demands of him; and certain of his
ons pointed to a breach of their pact and a violation of their
:nant. Accordingly, in the year 586/1190–1, the Sultan set
from Khorazm to attack him, and sitting down before the
e of Sarakhs, which was crammed with Sultan-Shah's men
with endless stores and armaments, he took it by storm and
oyed it. He turned back from thence to Radkan [28] and
:d the summer there. The brothers were now reconciled a
nd time, and Sultan-Shah repaired the castle of Sarakhs and
d it with treasures and provisions. And the ropes of fraternity
concord remained twined together between the two brothers
l the year 588/1192–3, when Qutlugh-Inanch, the son of
ıtabeg Muhammad, the son of Ildegiz,[53] dispatched messengers
ıe Sultan from Iraq to inform him about Sultan Toghril the
uq—how he had escaped from the fortress in which he had
ı imprisoned [54] and was wresting the kingdom of Iraq from
hands.

ı reply to his appeal for help the Sultan set out from Khorazm.
v Baha-ad-Din the Scribe of Baghdad [55] was at that time
ne Sultan's service. When the Sultan came to Juvain [and
ved] at the town of Azadvar, my great-grandfather Baha-ad-
ı Muhammad b. 'Ali went to wait upon him. And in the
ıl presence a discussion took place between these two [56] and
Sultan's gaze fell upon them, whereupon at a sign from
minister my great-grandfather extemporized the following
train:

> Thy favour steals the glory of the hidden jewel;
> The generosity of thy hand steals away the splendour of the Oxus;

Shams-ad-Din Ildegiz (1136–72) was the founder of the dynasty of the
gs of Azerbaijan. His son Muhammad Jahan-Pahlavan (1172–85) was the
:r not only of Qutlugh-Inanch but also of the *atabegs* Abu-Bakr (1191–1210)
Öz-Beg (1210–25). His immediate successor was his brother Qïzïl-Arslan
nān (1185–91).

By the recently deceased Qïzïl-Arslan. Toghril II (1177–94) was the
of the Seljuqs of (Persian) Iraq.

On Baha-ad-Din Muhammad b. Mu'ayyid al-Baghdadi and his collection
fficial documents see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 33–4.

I.e. the two Baha-ad-Dins.

Thy decision, if thou deliberatest,
Will remove a foolish fancy from the head of Heaven.

To this tune the Sultan drank wine till nightfall; and he made much of my great-grandfather and honoured him with presents.

When the sun entered Aries he took the road to Iraq to assail the rebels. And as news of his coming reached Qutlugh-Inanch and his mother[57] they repented of having invited him and decided to take refuge in the castle. Sitting down before Ray the Sultan took the castle of Tabarak,[58] which was crammed with men of battle and weapons of war [29], within one or two days; and his army was heartened by the capture of much booty. He passed the summer in the neighbourhood of Ray; and because of the unhealthiness of the air and the insalubrity of the water many of his army perished. Meanwhile, Sultan Toghril, perceiving the estrangement which had arisen between the Sultan and Qutlugh-Inanch, dispatched gifts and presents and took refuge in the seeking of protection. And on that account the highway of friendship was cleansed from the impurities of embroilment and the goblet of affection filled to the brim. And the Sultan collected the taxes and placed the Emir Tamghach (who was the senior Turkish emir) in Ray together with an army.

As he returned he was met on the road by scouts with the news that Sultan-Shah, taking advantage of his absence, had departed to lay siege to Khorazm. Sultan Tekish hastened thither with great speed, but when he reached Dihistan messengers arrived with the glad tidings that upon the news of his homecoming Sultan-Shah had turned back. Arriving in Khorazm the Sultan gave himself up to feasting during the wintertime, but when fresh down appeared upon the lips of the earth and the bud of spring displayed its tongue in wide-mouthed laughter, he made ready to proceed to Khorasan and attack his brother. Upon his reaching Abivard ambassadors again passed between the brethren and resumed the work of peace and

[57] Qutlugh-Khatun. (V.M.)

[58] On the castle of Tabarak, built on a hill of the same name to the north of Ray, see le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 216–17.

reconciliation. But in spite of correspondence and the dispatch of letters by either side the pus of contention could not be removed, and Sultan-Shah from the exceeding malignancy of his nature and violence of his temper would speak words remote from the path of righteousness and divorced from modesty and propriety. Meanwhile the governor of Sarakhs, Badr-ad-Din Chaghir,[59] growing apprehensive on account of calumnies and slanders which had been related against him before Sultan-Shah, imprisoned a number [30] of the garrison in whom he had no confidence and dispatched a courier to Abivard to summon the Sultan. The latter sent on a large force in advance and set out in person in their wake. Upon his approach Chaghir came out to meet him and make professions of loyalty; and he delivered up the key to the castle and the treasuries. From grief at this news and mortification at these tidings the light of day was darkened to Sultan-Shah, and two days later, viz. on the night of Wednesday, the last day of Ramazan, 589 [22nd of September, 1193] the sun of his life and fortune reached its decline. The next day, because of this news, was to the Sultan as the festival of Nauruz and in triumph he seized upon the kingdom and possessions of Sultan-Shah.

Having thus inherited the latter's throne and court and treasury and army he dispatched a swift messenger to Khorazm to summon Malik Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad.[60] However, his elder son, Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah, who was governor of Nishapur, was passionately fond of hunting with cheetahs and falcons, and because of the great number of hunting grounds around Merv he offered to exchange Nishapur for that place.

What a poor substitute for you are Syria and its people,
even though they are my own people and my home is
amongst them!

The Sultan granted his request and settled Nishapur upon

[59] Reading ČΓR with D for the ǰΓR of the text. *chaghīr* is a variant of the Turkish *chaqïr* 'merlin', 'stone-falcon'. On the use of this word as a proper name see Houtsma, *op. cit.*, 28.

[60] This is the famous Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, who, after his father's death, received the title of 'Ala-ad-Din. (M.Q.)

Malik Qutb-ad-Din; and he strengthened the hands of both sons in their kingdoms and in the loosening and binding, the tying and untying [of affairs].

Now having at the time of the dispute with his brother received tidings that Sultan Toghril had violated the treaty between them and hearing afterwards from Tamghach of his attack upon the army of Khorazm and seizure of the castle of Tabarak, which was filled with Tamghach's men, the Sultan set out for that region in the beginning of the year 590/1194–5 in order to avenge himself on Sultan Toghril and resolve that problem. Inanch accompanied by the emirs of Iraq came as far as Samnan to meet him and [31] in a posture of shame and contrition busied himself with excuses and apologies for having donned the necklace of his past crimes. The Sultan pardoned and forgave him and sent him back in advance with the army of Iraq. Meanwhile Sultan Toghril together with a great army and a numerous host had pitched his camp three parasangs from Ray and unfurled the banner of resistance and conflict. When Inanch drew near he too disposed his forces and donned the garments of battle. Now Sultan Toghril had a heavy mace, in which he took great pride. He rode to and fro in front of the army and, as was his custom, recited the following verses from the *Shahnama*:

> When the dust arose from that countless army,
> the cheeks of our worthies turned pale.
> As for me I raised the mace that kills with a single
> blow and felled that host upon the spot.
> I uttered a yell from my saddle saying, 'The earth
> has become a millstone upon them.'[61]

And at that very moment the mill of Heaven was grinding the grain of his life beneath the stone of annihilation and changing the hope he had cherished into despair. He fell from his horse and as he lay on the ground Qutlugh-Inanch came up and was about to deal him a blow without having recognized him. He threw off his veil to make himself known, and when Qutlugh-

[61] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 188, ll. 1060–2.

Inanch realized who he was he exclaimed: 'It was thou I sought amongst all these and that was the purpose of this bustling amongst friend and foe.' With one blow he removed the haughtiness of pride and the dominion of terror from his vain-glorious brain and confided his spirit to its original home. Against the fickleness of the revolving heavens of what avail is the Sultan's heavy mace? And when Fate is hostile where is there any conceivable advantage from abundance of troops [32] and allies? He was slung across a camel and brought before the Sultan. And when the latter saw his enemy in that condition he dismounted from his horse to prostrate himself in thanksgiving to God and rubbed his face in the ground. Toghril's head, which had borne no good will towards the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah,[62] he sent to Baghdad; whilst his corpse was hanged in the market-place in Ray. This event fell out on Thursday the 29th of Rabi' I, 590 [24th of April, 1194]. The poet Kamal-ad-Din, who was Toghril's familiar companion and one of his panegyrists, was taken prisoner and brought before the vizier Nizam-al-Mulk Mas'ud, who said: 'So great was the fame of this fellow Toghril's strength and power, and yet he could not stand up to one charge by a scouting party from the army of the Lord of Islam.' Kamal-ad-Din at once replied:

> 'Human was superior to Bizhan in strength: virtue
> becomes vice when the sun has set.'[63]

The Sultan did not remain long in Ray, from whence he set out for Hamadan; and within a short time he had captured most of the castles in Iraq.

Now the Commander of the Faithful, an-Nasir li-Din-Allah, wished [33] the Sultan to surrender Iraq or part of it to the Supreme Divan.[64] Messengers passed to and fro between the two parties, and as the Sultan would not agree the Caliph sent

[62] 1180–1225.

[63] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1182, l. 809. Hūmān was a Turanian hero slain by Bīzhan.

[64] I.e. the Caliphate.

his vizier, Mu'ayyid-ad-Din Ibn-al-Qassab, to him with and gifts and all kinds of honourable presents. By the tir vizier had reached Asadabad more than ten thousand ı Kurds from Iraq and Arab soldiery—had gathered around and his excessive officiousness and lack of wit and learnin vailed upon him to send the following message to the S 'The honour and the diploma of Sultanship have been be. by the Supreme Divan, and the surety for the affairs of the that is the vizier, has come hither on that errand. The obli under which he is placed by that boon requires the Sul advance to meet the vizier with a small following and humility and to proceed on foot in front of the vizier's i The pride of kingship and the Sultanate, and the knov of the guile and treachery of such a meeting, and the good fe that attended him caused the Sultan to ward off that treas dispatching an army to greet him; and before the m Baghdad had eaten supper they gave the vizier a taste of bre: He fled, bringing disgrace on the Caliphate, and the pursued his forces as far as Dinavar.[65] Their reputatio been destroyed; and the Sultan entered Hamadan posses: dinars and dirhems and riches beyond measure. He disp: revenue officials (*'ummāl)* to the countries of Iraq and ent: the affairs of that realm to the emirs and agents (*gumāsh*. He bestowed Isfahan upon Qutlugh-Inanch and enrolle emirs in his suite. Ray he conferred upon his own son Khan with Mayanchuq [66] as his *atabeg* and [34] controller (of the army. And the other districts having been dispo: in like manner the Sultan set off in triumph to return to Kho On the way thither he received tidings that Malik-Shal fallen ill on account of the unhealthy climate of Merv. H for him, and when he came to Tus and had recovered his he again entrusted the emirate of Nishapur to him and . the tents of departure to Khorazm. Having allotted a Sultan Muhammad in Khorasan he took him along with

When the winter of the year 591/1194–5 was over he s

[65] The ruins of Dīnavar lie about half way between Kangavar and Kerm:
[66] The text has MYANJQ and E MYANJWQ.

for Suqnaq and that region to attack Qayir-Buqu[67] Khan. The Sultan and all his forces had reached as far as Jand, when Qayir-Buqu Khan, upon news of his approach, turned rein and fled, and the Sultan hastened in his pursuit. Now in the Sultan's army [35] there were a number of Oran[68] (who used to serve as A'jamis)[69] in attendance upon the Sultan. These now sent a message to Qayir-Buqu saying that he should stand firm and when the armies came together they would turn their faces and show their backs. Relying upon this Qayir-Buqu returned and the two armies drew up in battle-order on Friday the 6th of Jumada II of that year [7th of February, 1195]. The Sultan's Oran withdrew behind the centre of the army and plundered the baggage. The army of Islam was routed; many perished under the sword and yet more were buried in the desert on account of heat and thirst. The Sultan himself reached Khorazm after eighteen days.

Whilst the Sultan had been preparing for this expedition, Yunis Khan had sent men of trust to his brother Malik-Shah in Khorasan to announce the approach of the army of Baghdad and to seek his aid. Upon his request Malik-Shah set out for Iraq but before he could come to his brother's aid Yunis Khan himself had already routed the army of Baghdad [36] and taken much booty. The brothers met in Hamadan, and after they had remained together a while carousing and making merry, Malik-Shah returned home.

Upon arriving in Khorasan he sent a decree to Arslan-Shah[70] in Shadyakh appointing him his deputy and set out for Khorazm to wait on his father. On account of his absence the humours

[67] Reading QAYR BWQW with E for the QATR BWQW of the text. Further on (II, 40 and 41) the text has QADR BWQW, i.e. Qadïr-Buqu. *qayïr* is the Western form of the normal Turkish *qadïr* 'strong': *buqu* means 'stag'.

[68] The text has *Ūrānīyān*, i.e. more precisely *Oranians*. On the Oran tribe see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 343, n. 2. Cf. also Qara-Alp Oran, i.e. Qara-Alp the Oran. (See below, p. 309, n. 83.) For a quite different reading of the name see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 107–8.

[69] *a'jamiyān*, i.e. 'barbarians' in the Greek sense. So the Janissary novice was called *'ajemī oghlan* 'foreign lad' as being of non-Moslem birth. See Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 329, n. 4.

[70] Malik-Shah's son.

of corruption were generated in Nishapur by the agency of a number of demon-like men the hand of whose domination had been restrained from tyranny and oppression under the rule of the Solomon-like Sultan,[71] as the sword of iniquity and injustice had then remained undrawn in the sheath of their volition. These persons, from behind the curtains of opposition, began to prepare for war against the Sultan together with the son of Toghan-Shah, Sanjar-Shah, whom the Sultan used to cherish in the bosom of his kindness and in the stronghold of his benevolence and to favour like his own children by reason of two ties which he maintained with him, the first being that Sanjar's mother was married to the Sultan and the second that the Sultan's sister had followed his daughter into Sanjar's household. He now by reason of his adverse fortune and unlucky horoscope was reduced by the above-mentioned persons to join in their plot. They made their plans in secret in order that no rumour thereof might get abroad and their design might not be revealed until they should raise up right and left and front and rear. And in sympathy with these plans of rebellion Sanjar's mother sent gold and jewels to Nishapur from Khorazm in order to beguile the notables and chief men of the town with money and lead their counsel far astray from the right path. However, their secret became known, and Sanjar-Shah was summoned to Khorazm where he was held in custody after being blinded in his world-beholding eyes.[72] The light of his sight was not completely cut off but he did not reveal this. The following is [part of] a quatrain of his:

> [37] When the hand of Destiny blinded my eye,
> A cry arose from the world of Youth.

After a while the emirs and Pillars of State interceded on his behalf urging the claims of his close relationship by marriage, and he was released and reinstated in the fiefs he held. And so he continued until upon a pretext made by the Angel of Death his appointed hour arrived, viz. in the year 595/1198–9.

[71] I.e. Tekish.

[72] This was done by passing a white-hot bar before the victim's eyes.

At the time when the bar was passed before his eyes no one had known [that he had not been completely blinded] nor had he informed anyone thereof, so that the very members of his household were ignorant of that circumstance, and he would squint at all that happened, good or ill, and suffered no hurt therefrom, for '*to the wise man a sign is enough*'.

After his death the Sultan turned to preparation for war and the disposition of striking and thrusting weapons, and he dispatched messengers to every side to summon the emirs of every quarter so that he might again make ready for some adventure. At this juncture news arrived of a dispute among the emirs of Iraq. In the meantime, his son Yunis Khan, on account of some hurt that had affected his eye and which could not be cured (perhaps a punishment, *for God Almighty hath said: 'An eye for an eye'* [73]), returned from Ray leaving Mayanchuq behind as his deputy. And in Baghdad an army commanded by [38] the vizier was fitted out to make an attack on Iraq. Qutlugh-Inanch came to Ray to the assistance of Mayanchuq. They remained together for several days, and then Mayanchuq suddenly fell upon Qutlugh-Inanch and killed him. He sent his head to Khorazm claiming that he had been meditating rebellion. The Sultan was much affected by this shameful excuse and manifest treason and realized that these were the symptoms of insurrection, but he judged it expedient not to reveal his feelings. Finally, in [592/1195–6] [74] he set out for Iraq for the third time. The vizier of the Caliph being in Hamadan with an army the Sultan halted upon reaching Muzdaqan.[75] A day or two later the two sides joined battle and the army of Baghdad saw no refuge save in seeking quarter. In his wonted manner the Sultan spared their lives and dismissed them with honour. Some days before the battle the vizier, who had commanded the army, had passed away, and the news of his death had been kept so secret that the army were ignorant of it until after their defeat. The

[73] Koran, v. 49. See above, p. 297, n. 49.

[74] There is a blank in the MSS. and M.Q. has supplied the date from Ibn-al-Athir.

[75] Now Mazdaqan to the west of Saveh in Central Persia.

dead man's head was cut off and sent to Khorazm—an act as unchivalrous as it was unworthy of a Sultan.

The report of the Sultan's victory spread through the two Iraqs and his cause prospered accordingly. The *atabeg* Öz-Beg came to him from Azerbaijan having fled from his brother. The Sultan received him with honour and bestowed Hamadan upon him.

From Hamadan the Sultan proceeded to Isfahan where [39] he remained some time. The following *qit'a* was composed by Khaqani [76] [in reference to that occasion]:

> Glad tidings! the Khorazm-Shah has taken the kingdom
> of Isfahan; he has taken the kingdom of the two Iraqs as
> well as Khorasan.
> The crescent [77] upon his parasol has conquered the castle
> of the heavens; the wavy lustre [78] upon his sword has
> taken the kingdom of Solomon.[79]

After a while he set out upon the return journey having placed his grandson Erbüz Khan,[80] son of Toghan-Toghdi [81] in the town of Isfahan and left Bighu Sipahsalar-i-Samani [82] as his *atabeg*. Upon arriving in Khorazm he sent Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah a mandate conferring upon him the emirate of Khorasan but said: 'Go not to Merv, for its climate agrees not with your constitution.' However, the violence of his passion for the chase made his intellect its prey and he set out for Merv, where he fell sick. He left for Nishapur but his illness grew worse; his disease prevailed over him and because of that malady he betook himself from this transient abode to the place of eternity; and

[76] According to 'Ali 'Abdorrasuli, the editor of Khaqani's *Divan*, Tehran, 1216/1937–8, viii, the author of these lines was actually Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il.

[77] *māhcha* 'little moon', which can also mean the *knob* at the end of his parasol.

[78] *mūrcha*, which means lit. 'little ant'.

[79] This would normally mean Fars.

[80] ARBWZ. Cf. the name Ervüz (Erwüz) in Kashghari.

[81] Actually a sentence: *toghan toghdī* 'the falcon is born'. For other examples of this type of name see Houtsma, *op. cit.*, 34–5.

[82] Lit. 'the Samanid Commander-in-Chief'. Conceivably the title was inherited from an ancestor in the service of the Samanids (874–999), the Persian rulers of Transoxiana, whose dynasty was overthrown by the Qara-Khanids.

this came to pass on the eve of Thursday the 9th of Rabi' II, 593 [1st of March, 1197]. When news of his death smote the ear of the Sultan he moaned and lamented loudly, which availed him nothing, and abandoned the expedition which he had intended to make against the infidel. And since the sons of Malik-Shah were meditating connivance at rebellion and opposition to the Sultan, he dispatched Nizam-al-Mulk Sadr-ad-Din Mas'ud of Herat to Shadyakh to administer affairs and allay disturbances; [40] he sent Malik-Shah's sons, the eldest of whom was Hindu-Shah, to Khorazm; and by reason of his well-considered measures the tumults of unrest and the calamities of Fate died down under his firm control. And in the wake of this vizier the Sultan dispatched his second son Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad, to assume responsibility for the affairs of Khorasan. When he arrived the vizier had already completed his work and repelled the disturbers of the peace: two days later on the second of Zul-Hijja [16th of October, 1197] he returned to the Sultan and Malik Qutb-ad-Din busied himself with the administration of Khorasan.

[He continued to administer that province] until the time when an estrangement occurred between Qadir-Buqu and his nephew Alp-Direk.[83] The latter came to Jand and sent messengers to the Sultan to say that if he received help from him he would get rid of Qadir-Buqu and his kingdom would then be the Sultan's for the taking. The vindictiveness of anger, more malignant than the evil eye, prevailed on him to listen to a people of strangers, and he dispatched emissaries in all directions to assemble troops and conclude treaties and likewise summoned Malik Qutb-ad-Din back from Shadyakh. Upon the latter's arrival in Khorazm they set out together in Rabi' I, 594 [January–February, 1198], and Qadir-Buqu made a raid as far as Jand in order to attack Alp-Direk. His arrival at Jand coincided with that of Malik Qutb-ad-Din, who had advanced ahead of the

[83] ALB DRK. I take the second element of the name to be the Turkish *tirek* or *direk* 'pillar'. On the use of this word in Old Turkish in the sense of 'minister' see Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, 157. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 343–4, identifies Alp-Direk with the Qipchaq chieftain Qara-Alp Oran (*ibid.*, 340–1).

main army in order to reconnoitre; and in this divine predestination favoured the Sultan's lot. The two forces drew up and joined battle. Qadir-Buqu was put to flight and [41] Malik Qutb-ad-Din set out in his pursuit. [Having captured him] he bore him, together with his chiefs and troops—'*linked together in chains*'[84]—before the Sultan, who dispatched him in bonds and shackles to Khorazm in Rabi' II of that year [February–March, 1198]. Following upon him the victorious Sultans themselves arrived in the capital.

The remains of Qadir-Buqu's people, despairing of their leader, gathered around * Kün-Er-Direk[85] and collected together to work confusion and light up the flame of unrest. Acting upon the proverb: '*Iron is split by iron*'[86] the Sultan raised Qadir-Buqu from the abasement of captivity to the glory of command and having bound him by firm treaties dispatched him at the head of a large force to deal with Alp-Direk.

Meanwhile, the Sultan himself set out for Khorasan and arrived in Shadyakh on Tuesday the 2nd of Zul-Hijja, 594 [5th of October, 1198]. Three months later he left for Iraq to settle with Mayanchuq. Because he had for so long ruled that country and preoccupied himself with its affairs a desire for absolute rule and complete independence had taken firm root in his brain, and the demon of Error had rested in his overweening mind, and he was deluded and misled by the munitions and equipment [42] that had accrued to him by the Sultan's fortune. During the winter of that year the Sultan tarried in Mazandaran, but in the beginning of spring he prepared for action. As for Mayanchuq, for all the great army he had gathered together, when he heard the sound of the raging sea, that is, the movement of the Sultan's troops, he was unable to picture constancy in his heart and became exceedingly frightened and alarmed; he was at his wits' end as to what course he should take, and pride

[84] Koran, xiv, 50, or xxxviii, 37.

[85] KNAR DRK. The first part of the name is conceivably a compound of the Turkish *kün* 'sun' and *er* 'man'. As M.Q. states in a footnote, Kün-Er-Direk must be identical with Alp-Direk, the nephew of Qadir-Buqu.

[86] 'Set a thief to catch a thief.'

and firmness were inconsistent with the state of his mind. With the few men that still remained with him he was twice chased all round Iraq by the Sultan; and all this time he was constantly sending messengers to make excuses and seek pardon and at the same time in his fear was beseeching the Sultan to desist from summoning him to his presence. When it became clear to the Sultan that his heart was false he dispatched an army to pursue him like the wind. They came upon him unawares and put the greater part of his followers to the sword. He himself with a small defeated band made his way to the castle of Firuzkuh,[87] which he had previously seized by guile and treachery from the Sultan's commanders, slaying those who held it on his behalf and installing his own men in it with a great store of supplies and provisions. Arriving before the castle in his pursuit the Sultan's army set about besieging it: under shots from their mangonels they dragged him by force out of the castle, bound him upon a camel and took him to the Sultan at Qazvin. The latter, speaking through his chamberlains, enumerated all the boons and blessings he owed to the royal house and went on to recount the ingratitude with which he had requited these kindnesses and favours, committing acts of treachery, abolishing imposts, cancelling taxes, ousting Erbüz Khan from Isfahan and expelling his tax-collectors [43] from the Divan. 'Although,' said the Sultan, 'his just retribution would be nought less than exemplary punishment and the imposition of every degree of chastisement, nevertheless because of my debt of gratitude to his brother Aqcha, who never committed an act of disloyalty, I have spared his life, but on condition that as a punishment for some of his rebellious actions he shall be enchained and imprisoned for a year and then pass the rest of his life on one of the frontiers against the infidel on the Jand border.'

Simultaneously with this victory came the glad tidings of Qadir-Buqu's defeat of * Kün-Er-Direk and, thirdly, the news that messengers had arrived from Baghdad bearing splendid and

[87] I.e. the famous castle on the slopes of Mt. Damavand (see le Strange, *op. cit.*, 371 and 372, n. 1), not to be confused with Firuzkuh in Ghur, on which see below, p. 328, n. 5.

numerous presents and a patent conferring the title of Sultan of Iraq, Khorasan and Turkestan.

Being no longer preoccupied with all these matters and having no further cause for apprehension regarding the Supreme Divan, the Sultan now took it into his head to uproot and extirpate the Heretics and led an army to the foot of Qal'a-yi-Qahira,[88] a castle which had been captured by Arslan son of Toghril[89] and had therefore become known as Arslan-Gushai. He continued to lay siege to it for four months until, finally, being compelled to come to terms the garrison began to come down [44] in detachments and depart to Alamut; and so they all of them got away in safety with all their possessions. Arslan-Gushai is a castle near Qazvin on the borders of the Rudbar of Alamut, near to earth and far from heaven, by no means impregnable and but ill supplied with men and treasure. Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din in the *Zubdat-at-Tawarikh,* wishing to magnify the exploits of the Sultan,[90] describes it as follows: '*It is a strong castle built of solid rock upon a lofty mountain-top, which seizes Heaven by the forelock and butts Orion; and it was crammed with men eager to give their lives and supported by every manner of arms.*'[91]

Now had Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din been witness of the conquest ot their strong castles that were taken in the present age by the army of the illustrious King[92] within a short space of time (as shall be mentioned in its proper place), he would have been ashamed to mention this conquest, let alone describe the castle, and would have considered the following line of 'Unsuri appropriate to the occasion:

> Such are the actions of the great when action is called for;
> such are the traces left by the swords of the Khusraus.

[88] Lit. 'the Mighty Castle'. According to Ravandi, 289–90, the castle was built by the Assassins during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud (1133–52), Arslan's uncle, and given the name of Jahān-Gushāi. It was unsuccessfully besieged by Mas'ud but was finally captured by Arslan (1161–77) at the beginning of his reign.

[89] I.e. Toghril I (1132–3). [90] I.e. Sultan Arslan, not of course Tekish.

[91] This passage is absent from the history of Sadr-ad-Din edited by Muhammad Iqbal (Lahore, 1933). This may not however be the original work of Sadr-ad-Din but a later compilation based upon it. The absence of the passage quoted by Juvaini was first noticed by Houtsma in *Acta Orientalia,* III, 145. (V.M.)

[92] I.e. Hülegü.

And if it should occur to anyone who has not seen these castles that this is nought but rhetorical language bearing the brand of flattery like that describing Arslan-Gushai, such a person may be answered with the jest of Abul-Fazl Baihaqi, who in the *Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri* relates as follows: 'When the Sultan was returning from Somnat [93] one of his falconers slew a great serpent. They skinned it, and the hide was thirty ells long and four ells broad.' Now the point of this is that Abul-Fazl goes on to say: 'If any one doubts this story let him go to the castle of Ghazna and see that hide for himself where it hangs from the gate like a curtain.' [94] The compiler of these histories for his part [45] remarks that nothing now remains of that hide but a story, but let such a doubter rise up and from Tarum [95] in the West to the region of Sistan, which is a distance of nearly 300 parasangs, let him survey the mountains and castles that shall stand firm till the time when it shall come to pass '*that the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool*';[96] let him with his reason compare that one puny fortress with the hundred or more stout castles, each of them a hundred times as strong as Arslan-Gushai, that were conquered in this present age by the grace of God the Avenger and the fortune of the august monarch Hülegü; and from thence let him deduce the prowess and might of each of their armies and warriors.

After capturing that castle and quenching the flame of unrest the Sultan established his son Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah in Iraq, fixing his place of residence in Isfahan, and he himself turned back and made his way to Khorazm, which he entered on the 10th of Jumada II, 596 [28th of March, 1200].

Meanwhile, the Heretics observing that the Sultan's hostility was due to the endeavours of Nizam-al-Mulk, who was the chief vizier, *fida'is* took up positions on the path to a palace to

[93] Or Somnath, on the south coast of the peninsula of Kathiawar.

[94] This passage is not to be found in the edition of the *Ta'rikh-i-Baihaqi*. On the author and his work see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 22–4.

[95] Ṭārum (Tarom) is a district to the north of Zanjan on the south-western slopes of the Elburz range, by which it is separated from the Caspian province of Gilan.

[96] Koran, ci, 4.

which the vizier was going. When he came out of the p one of the accursed ones struck a blow at his back whilst an from the other side stabbed him in the head, so that he stra way gave up the ghost. Now it was one of the wondrous e of this world that the said vizier bore an enmity toward Grand Chamberlain Shihab-ad-Din Mas'ud of Khorazm also Hamid-ad-Din 'Ariz of Zuzan, and in those last da had been attacking these two dignitaries before the Sultan. before his own death he had caused 'Ariz to be beheaded a gate of that palace and he was plotting to send Shihab-ad-Mas'ud after him. But vengeful Fate, nay rather the pre commandment of the Creator, required it that before fulfi this intention his own blood should be spilled upon that of ' As for the *fida'is* they were cut to pieces on the spot [46]. *Apostle of God (may God bless him and his family!) hath truth said: 'Thou hast slain and shalt be slain; and thy slayer sha slain.'*

Sultan Tekish was much grieved at this and determined u requital and revenge. He appointed Malik Qutb-ad-D this task and sent a messenger to instruct him first to choos troops and then to begin with Quhistan.[97] In accordance this command Qutb-ad-Din made his preparations and c menced with Turshiz.[98] With a host such that the mour could not bear the trample of their feet he laid siege to castle. For four months he continued to fight; the mo Turshiz, which was as deep as a cavern, had been filled in, the siege was so far advanced that the castle might have taken within a week. Meanwhile, the Sultan, who had assembling armies from every side in Khorazm and prepa for action, was attacked by a plethoric disease which devel into quinsy *(from which God preserve us!)*. His physic treated the disease, and when he began to recover he set

[97] Quhistān, 'the Mountain Country', was the name given to the r stretching southwards from the Nishapur area along what is now the A border. It is Marco Polo's Tunocain, a name derived from its two chief t Tūn (now Firdaus) and Qā'in. The principal town to-day is Birjand.

[98] There is still a district of Turshiz, to the west of Turbat-i-Haidari. Strange, *op. cit.*, 354, n. 2, locates the town on the site of the present-day Firuz

[for Turshiz]. The physicians forbade him to travel, but the Sultan, because of the fierceness of the fire of wrath, would not recite the *sura* on the acceptance of advice. He continued to journey till he came to the stage known as Chah-i-'Arab ('Arabs' Well'), and since the bucket of his life had fallen to the bottom of the well his malady returned and he departed from this transient abode to that eternal resting-place. This was on the 19th of Ramazan, 596 [23rd of June, 1200].

The Pillars of State at once dispatched messengers to Malik Qutb-ad-Din to inform him. Meanwhile a prodigy occurred: his standard snapped for no reason and drooped its head. He took this as an evil omen and following upon it came the news of his father's death. He concealed it from the army and on the pretext of sickness [47] made ready to return. Envoys passed to and fro and they began to discuss terms of peace. Having no inkling of his father's death the people of Turshiz performed many services and offered tribute over and above 100,000 dinars. Malik Qutb-ad-Din then returned. Like a downrushing flood or a torrent of rain he joined day to night and night to day until he reached the gates of Shahristana. There he performed the rites of mourning and hastened on to Khorazm.

[II]

OF THE ACCESSION OF 'ALA-AD-DIN KHORAZM-SHAH

WHEN he arrived at the capital, the emirs and Pillars of State gathered together and held a feast; and on Thursday the 20th of Shavval, 596 [4th of August, 1200] with divine assistance they set him upon the throne of kingship. The withered branches of the realm became fresh and verdant and the dead soul of justice returned to life and health; and bearers of the good tidings proceeded to every corner of the land.

When news of his father's death reached the Sultans of Ghur, Shihab-ad-Din and Ghiyas-ad-Din, those painters, the promptings of the demon Ambition, limned pictures of wicked and unprofitable imaginings and drawings of lewd and fruitless

phantasies upon the page of their brain; and the bride-dressers known as Human Pride [48] perfumed and painted the brides called Greed and Cupidity. They therefore dispatched an army in advance to Merv, where they stationed Muhammad Kharang; whilst they themselves set out with a great host and ninety elephants, each the size of a mountain. First they came to Tus, where they engaged in much looting and pillaging, and from thence in Rajab, 597 [April–May, 1201], to Shadyakh. Here was the brother of Sultan Muhammad, 'Ali-Shah, who had returned from Iraq, together with other dignitaries. The brother Sultans rode all round the walls as though they were sightseeing and then came to a halt in front of the town. In order to watch the army a large crowd of people had taken up their stand in a tower facing them. The tower collapsed. The soldiers took this as a favourable augury; they stormed the town that very day and began to plunder, sending *shahnas* to the houses of ascetics and holy men lest any harm should befall them. They continued to pillage till mid-day, when a proclamation was made that they should desist. [49] And such was the discipline of the army that each soldier at once let go of what he was holding; and all the spoil having been gathered together, as soon as anyone recognized his goods, they were at once restored to him; for there was policy in their plundering.

As for the army of Khorazm they were taken out of Shadyakh together with Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah and the notables and dignitaries of the Sultan's realm and subjected to many tortures and torments, after which they were dispatched to the capital of Ghur. Every one who had had some hand in the administration of the Divan had his property confiscated, and *shahnas* were dispatched to Jurjan and Bistam to take possession of those places. The Sultans then turned back after placing Ziya-ad-Din in Nishapur at the head of a large army and repairing the walls of the fortifications. Ghiyas-ad-Din went to Herat, whilst Shihab-ad-Din proceeded to Quhistan to destroy the abodes of the Heretics and demolish their castles. After first resisting, the people of Junabid [1] sued for peace and tendered their submission.

[1] Now Gūnābād.

He set the cadi of Tulak [2] over that place as guardian and went to Herat.

When Sultan Muhammad learnt of the turmoil and confusion amongst the people of Khorasan he set out from Khorazm like a raging lion or a terror-striking lightning-flash with a great army and an immense host, and on the 17th of Zul-Hijja of the same year [18th of September, 1201] sat down before Shadyakh and stationed his forces around the town. The Ghuris made sallies and engaged in battle, being full of conceit of their might and prowess. But after tasting the valour of the army of Khorazm, they realized that their toil was in vain and all their fighting of no avail. They crept like mice into their hole, and mangonels were set in action on the outside until the walls were humbled like the earth and the moat filled in. Perceiving that they were about to fall into the abasement of captivity, they had recourse to ambassadors and causing the *shaikhs* and *'ulema* to intervene on their behalf they humbly and servilely begged the Sultan [50] for quarter. He put into practice the proverb: '*If thou art king, be indulgent*' with respect to them and closed his eyes to crimes and misdemeanours; and having honoured and dignified them with robes in great number and money without measure he dispatched them, loaded with boons and favours, to the Sultan of Ghur, in order that they might learn how to give when powerful and how to be clement and indulgent in the face of great rancour and hatred.

Having ordered the walls of the town to be completely demolished the Sultan set out from thence for Merv and Sarakhs, which was held by Hindu-Khan, his nephew, on behalf of the Sultans of Ghur. When Hindu-Khan heard of his uncle's approach the rain of discomfiture rained down upon him and he left for Ghur. Upon the Sultan's arrival at Sarakhs the governor of the fortress did not come forward [to meet him], and he left a party to besiege the town until they took it and made the governor prisoner.

Meanwhile the Sultan himself had returned to Khorazm by

[2] Tūlak is still the name of a town and district to the east of Herat. Juzjani took part in the defence of the fortress against the Mongols. (Raverty, 1961.)

way of Merv and had a second time made ready for battl Zul-Qa'da of that year[3] he set out once again intendi attack Herat and extirpate its noble rulers. He encamp the meadows of Radkan, and as soon as his followers gathered together from every side set out from thence at the of a great army of Taziks and Turks. His pavilion was e outside Herat, and his troops pitched tent after tent all the town, like a bracelet about the arm. Mangonels were action upon either side, and battering rams moved with the of chargers; the towers were breached and the walls sm to pieces. Now the governor *(kūtvāl)* of the fortress, 'I Din Marghazi,[4] was a man who had been polished and p by the experiences of life. He saw no other means of · but to seek humbly for quarter. He therefore sent fc ambassadors [51] and accepted a heavy tribute, dispatchi own son to the Sultan as a hostage. At this the violer the Sultan's anger abated and his acceptance of the pe request for pardon and forgiveness became a chain of gra about their necks.

Meanwhile the Sultans of Ghur were gathering their and making ready to return to Khorasan. When the S was occupied with the siege of Herat they determined to themselves of the absence of the Khorazm-Shah and his from the lands and regions of that kingdom and to lead armies thither. Receiving tidings of this the Sultan turned by way of Marv-ar-Rud, while Sultan Shihab-ad-Din ca by way of Talaqan. Sultan Muhammad thought it wou prudent not to cross the river so that the water, like fire, serve as a screen between the two armies. As for the they were divided in their minds whether to cross or to and some actually crossed. As the Sultan had no mind encounter he decided to proceed to Merv. The men of followed in pursuit of the Sultan's army. Upon re

[3] Which year? Juvaini cannot mean Zul-Qa'da of the year 597 si the 17th of Zul-Hijja of that year (19th of September, 1201) the Khorazı had laid siege to Shadyakh. [See above, p. 317.] It seems most lik he means Zul-Qa'da of the following year [August, 1202]. (M.Q.)

[4] I.e. of Merv.

Sarakhs, he halted; and ambassadors passed to and fro between the two sides. The Sultan was asked to surrender some of the provinces of Khorasan, but because he disdained to accept tribute he would not agree and set out from Sarakhs for Khorazm. As for Sultan Shihab-ad-Din he led his army to Tus and wrenched out the wings and feathers of the inhabitants with tortures and confiscations. There being insufficient provisions for his army he forced the people to sell corn and sent men to carry off the grain which they had transported to Meshed (*Mashhad-i-Ṭūs*) where it was under the protection of the tomb of the shrine. For these hard reasons, in addition to what had gone before, the minds of noble and base alike were filled with hatred of their rule, and the people had an even greater desire to attach themselves [52] to the Khorazm-Shah's party.

At this juncture there came news of the death of his brother Ghiyas-ad-Din and Shihab-ad-Din beat the drum of departure. Upon reaching Merv he left Muhammad Kharang there. This Muhammad Kharang was one of the chief emirs and heroes of Ghur and, in bravery, the Rustam of the age. He made a raid on Abivard, where he took some of the Sultan's emirs prisoner and slew a number of people. From thence he proceeded to Tarq [5] to attack Taj-ad-Din Khalaj, who sent him his son as a hostage; and as he turned back the emir of Margha [6] likewise sent him his son. Elated by this success he was returning to Merv when he received tidings that an army from Khorazm was approaching the city by way of the desert. He turned to meet them, and when the two armies came together the winds of the Sultan's fortune began to blow from the direction of Divine Assistance and the hearts of his adversaries began to tremble. And though the army of Khorazm was not the half of the army of Ghur they charged down upon them and put them to flight. By a thousand wiles Kharang succeeded in entering Merv, but the army of Khorazm arrived before the town and making a

[5] Unidentified. The spelling is uncertain but may be the same as that of the village called Ṭarq in Central Persia. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 209 and 449.

[6] The castle near Merv. See above, pp. 154 and 165.

breach in the walls took him prisoner. For fear of his fury one of the emirs at once dealt him a blow and his head was dispatched to Khorazm, where the Sultan disavowed the killing. When news of his death reached Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din,[7] he was filled with anxiety and bewilderment and overwhelmed with weakness and impotence, for Kharang had been the mainstay of the Sultans of Ghur and [53] their bulwark in battle; and his strength of arm and courage were such that on several occasions they had commanded him to engage in combat with a lion[8] and an elephant and he vanquished both. When the Sultans made him fight with these beasts every few days he killed them both and said: 'How long must I fight with a dog and a pig?' He would break the leg of a three-year old horse.

After the Sultan's troops had won this victory the Pillars of State began to urge him to attack the kingdom of Herat,[9] which kingdom they decked out to appeal to his heart and eye. 'The elder brother, Ghiyas-ad-Din,' they said, 'is now removed, and his sons are quarrelling among themselves about the kingdom and the inheritance. The greater part of the emirs are inclined in favour of the Sultan, and since his exalted banners have cast their shadow over those regions, most of them have been clutching the handle of fortune.' These words produced a most pleasant effect upon the Sultan's heart, and dreams of wealth became pictures upon his mind. In Jumada I, 600 [January, 1204], he set out for Herat with a well-equipped army of warriors adorned with bravery and valour. Now Alp-Ghazi, the chief emir of Ghur, had been appointed governor of Herat. When the Sultan's retinue arrived before the town they set up the royal pavilion. Mangonels were then aimed at the towers and from every side stones rained down like hail upon the bazaars and streets so that it became impossible for people to walk about. The inhabitants began to despair, and Alp-Ghazi caused ambassadors to intercede. 'I have,' he said, 'full authority from the Sultan to make peace and so ensure that the path of unity

[7] So in all the MSS. for Shihab-ad-Din. (M.Q.)

[8] Or perhaps a tiger. See above, p. 257, n. 30.

[9] I.e. the kingdom of the Ghurids.

be trodden and the customs of orthodoxy observed. No one shall henceforth molest Khorasan neither shall the Sultan's men in any way molest or injure these regions.' In addition to these agreements and covenants he undertook to pay a huge tribute and went surety for the Ghuris' good faith. The Sultan for his part, wishing to lance the abscess of strife and rancour [54] and so spare the lives and honour of fellow Moslems, gladly accepted the offers of Alp-Ghazi and the people of Herat and protected them from losing their lives and property. Alp-Ghazi came to wait upon the Sultan, and the floor of the audience-hall was bruised by the touch of his lips and his forehead covered with dust from his prostrating himself in thanksgiving. In accordance with their treaty the Sultan sent him back to the town after loading him with honours, and Alp-Ghazi, in order to collect the tribute which he had undertaken to pay, opened the hand of oppression and exaction against the people and began to extract it from them by such means. When the Sultan heard of his tyranny and violence, he did not neglect the obligations of justice towards the people and considered the waiving of this condition to be a more lasting treasury and a stouter bastion. In fulfilment of the treaty he withdrew. His army laid waste the region of Badghis [10] and were heartened by the capture of goods and cattle, although they were in fear and dread of the Sultan on account of that pillaging. He proceeded to Merv, and Alp-Ghazi, who had been dismissed from the service of Sultan Shihab-ad-Din for undertaking to effect a reconciliation, reached the appointed time only two or three days after the Sultan's departure.

In order to take his revenge Sultan Shihab-ad-Din was again preparing to go to war and this time he intended to begin by attacking Khorazm. When news of his intention reached the Sultan, he practised caution by acting with decision and returned to Khorazm by way of the desert. In this way he raced the army of Ghur, which exceeded ants or locusts in their numbers, and arriving in his capital, informed the people of that army's

[10] Bādghīs is now a district of Afghanistan, to the north of Herat on the frontier with Turkmenistan.

approach, and announced the occurrence of that unexpected calamity. The whole population, inwardly boiling with zealous rage and outwardly agitated with fear of humiliation and abasement, with one heart and voice agreed to resist and fight, to oppose and repel, and all [55] of them busied themselves with the provisions of arms and implements of war such as swords and lances. The revered *imam* Shihab-ad-Din of Khivaq,[11] who was a pillar of the Faith and a bulwark of the realm, went to every extreme in his efforts to discomfit the enemy and repulse them from harem and homeland, and in sermons from the pulpit he gave sanction for battle in accordance with the true tradition: '*Whoso is slain in defence of his life and property, the same is a martyr.*' On this account the zeal and good will of the people were redoubled, and they set to work as one man. Meanwhile, the Sultan had sent relays of messengers to every part of Khorasan to summon infantry and cavalry, having also sought aid from the *gür-khan*. He fixed his camp on the bank at Nuzvar,[12] and within only a few days seventy thousand men of action and spirit had been gathered together. Meanwhile the army of Ghur, with so many troops and elephants and with such bustle and clangour that, had they wished, they could have turned the Oxus into a plain and made the plain an Oxus with blood, pitched their camp opposite on the eastern bank.[13] The Sultan of Ghur ordered them to seek a ford in order to cross the next day and trouble the drinking-place of the Sultan's pleasure. And he began to dispose his elephants and instruct his men in order that next day at dawn they might fashion the cup of battle out of human skulls. Suddenly news came that Tayangu [14] of Taraz,[15] the commander of the army of Qara-Khitai, was approaching

[11] The later Khiva.

[12] Reading NWZWAR for the NWRAWR of the text. On Nūzvār see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 148 and 155.

[13] Barthold, *op. cit.*, 350, n. 5, comments that 'perhaps not the main river bed but the channel flowing near Gurgānj is intended'.

[14] ṬAYNKW. This was probably the man's title rather than his name: *tayangu* in Old Turkish means 'chamberlain'.

[15] Ṭarāz or Talas, the later Aulie-Ata and the present-day Jambul, on the river Talas.

with a fire-like host and that with him was the Sultan of Sultans of Samarqand. When the people of the elephant[16] realized that the Lord of Lords had cast their plotting into confusion and that from war and battle could come nought but despair, they thrust back the sword of combat into the belt of retreat and chose to flee rather than to stay; and despite [56] disappointment and loss of honour complied with the proverb:

> *This is not thy nest, depart then from a dwelling that befits thee not.*

Shihab-ad-Din commanded his men to burn the baggage in the night and sew up the eye of sleep; and from excess of aberration and perversity they hamstrung the horses and the camels. As they retreated the Sultan pursued them like a raging lion or a jealous stallion as far as Hazar-Asf, where they turned and gave battle. The Sultan's army charged their right wing, and the standards of the Ghuris were overturned and their fortune reversed. Many of their emirs and leaders fell into the bonds of captivity, and the rest of them limped and stumbled through the waterless wilderness '*like some bewildered man whom the Satans have spellbound in the desert*'.[17] The army of Khorazm continued to follow angrily at their heels, like stallions in pursuit of mares, until by infamous wiles they passed through Saifabad.[18] The Sultan, enveloped in gracious bounty and submerged in bounteous grace, turned back possessed of wealth, and elephants, and camels, and horses; and Auspicious Fortune through the tongue of Predestined Felicity inspired men's hearts with the verse: '*God promised you the taking of a rich booty and sped it to you.*'[19] The Sultan gave a feast in Khorazm, and one of his courtiers asked Firdaus of Samarqand, a minstrel girl, for a quatrain suitable to the occasion. She extemporized as follows:

> O king, the Ghuri escaped from thee in confusion;
> Like a chicken he escaped from the kite.

---

[16] A reference to Koran, cv, where by 'the people of the elephant' are meant the forces of Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of the Yemen, who marched against Mecca in the year of the Prophet's birth. See Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 65–9.

[17] Koran, vi, 70.

[18] Unidentified.

[19] Koran, xlviii, 20.

He alighted from his horse and hid his face;
The king gave thee his elephants and escaped being killed.[20]

As for the army of Ghur, when they reached Andkhud[21] they saw what they saw; for the army of Khitai overtook them [37] and encompassed them on every side. And from dawn till dusk either side fought with sword and lance, and many perished. On the next day, when the standard of the sun was raised upon the walls of the horizon and the solar scouts appeared from behind the Eastern curtain, the army of Khitai showed their mettle and charged all together. The neck of their opponents' resistance was broken and the hand of conflict tied; all that were left of the army, viz. 50,000 men, were slain in battle, and Sultan Shihab-ad-Din found himself alone in the centre with some 100 men. By means of a ruse he flung himself into the citadel of Andkhud; but the army of Khitai breached a hole in the wall and he was on the point of being captured when the Sultan of Samarqand sent him the following message: 'For the honour of Islam I should not like a Moslem Sultan to fall into the snare of unbelievers and be slain at their hands. It is advisable therefore for thee to offer as ransom for thy person all that thou hast in the way of elephants and horses and immovable and movable property. On this pretext I will seek to mediate on thy behalf and obtain the consent of this people.' Sultan Shihab-ad-Din offered everything that he had as a ransom and all at once the contents of the treasuries and arsenals were scattered as largesse. By a thousand wiles he obtained his release through the intercession of the Sultan of Samarqand and got away with his life at a time when '*no time was it of escape*'.[22]

If we return safe with honourable souls that hoped
for something but were disappointed in their hope,

[20] The second two lines have a double meaning and may also be translated as follows:

From being a knight he became a pawn and hid [covered] the castle.
The king surrendered the bishops to thee and so became checkmated.

[21] The present-day Andkhui in Northern Afghanistan.

[22] Koran, xxxviii, 2.

Our souls are the best of all spoils: they return with their sap and their life in them.[23] [58]

When the Sultan of Ghur arrived in his own country stripped of his army and treasure and displaying a hundred thouand blemishes, the Sultan sent one of his chamberlains to him with the following message: 'It was your men who started these hostilities and *"the aggressor is the more unjust"*, but henceforward let the paths of concord be followed and the highway of discord closed.' Sultan Shihab-ad-Din for his part confirmed the terms of peace with mighty oaths and bound himself to aid and assist the Sultan whenever he so commanded; and a pact was concluded between the two Sultans to this effect. However, two months later a part of the army of Ghur assembled in the confines of Talaqan, and Taj-ad-Din Zangi, who was the instigator of this rebellion, made an attack on Marv-ar-Rud (which was to result in his losing his head), drove the revenue official *('āmil)* unexpectedly into the snare of destruction and began to stir up oppression, and arouse tyranny, and extort money. News of this reached the Sultan, and he dispatched Badr-ad-Din Chaghir from Merv and Taj-ad-Din 'Ali from Abivard to repel these disturbers of the peace. After the battle Zangi, together with ten of the emirs, was sent in chains to Khorazm, where in punishment for their actions their heads—*far be it from my listeners!*—were severed from their bodies. The violence of these disturbances was allayed and the realm was at peace.

But though the ropes of solemn oaths were spliced together between the two Sultans, yet Sultan Shihab-ad-Din because of chagrin for what had passed was gnawing the back of his hand and, in preparation for action, was assembling troops and manufacturing weapons on the pretext of an expedition against the infidel. Finally, in the year 602/1205–6 he took it into his head to make a beginning by an inroad into India for the purpose of mending the affairs of his retainers and followers, who had

[23] Abdallah b. 'Utaiba, one of the chief men of Basra. Quoted by 'Utbi in his history. See Shaikh Ahmad al-Manini, *Sharh-al-Yamīnī*, Cairo ed., II, 417. (M.Q.)

lost all their gear and accoutrement during the last fev campaigning in Khorasan.[24] Upon arriving in India able by one victory that God granted him to repair all tl of treasury and army. He turned back for the h journey and forded the Jhelum.[25] [59] His pavilion w on the bank of the river [26] so that half of it extended water; and no care was taken to guard that side agai Suddenly, in the middle of the day at the time of the siesta two or three Indians [27] emerged from the water pectedly as fire and threw themselves into the pavilion, was lying forgetful of the waiting and watching of oblivious to the perversity of Fate. They turned the b into black night for the army by destroying the king, an for him the flavour of the food of life. When our doc us, of what avail is the might of man? And whe wanes of what assistance are quantities of elephants? gear and accoutrement, all this white and black pro nothing.

[24] The purpose of the expedition seems rather to have been to qu of the Khokars and the tribes of the Salt Range. See Juzjani tr. Rav Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 156–7, Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 47–8

[25] Reading JYLM, i.e. Jēlam, for the ḤYLY of the text, as su M.Q.

[26] *Jaiḥūn*, i.e. the Indus. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 352, takes this for but in Juvaini, as M.Q. has pointed out in his introduction to Vol name is applied to any large river such as, for instance, the Kur in th and the Jaxartes or Syr Darya.

[27] It is not clear from Juvaini's account whether the assassins w not *fida'is*, i.e. agents of the Isma'ilis; and Rashid-ad-Din (Smir implies that they were Khokars. On the other hand Juzjani (Rave states specifically that Shihab-ad-Din 'attained martyrdom at the disciple of the Mulāḥidah'. Haig, *op. cit.*, 48, discusses the vario of the assassination and concludes that though the Khokars 'were pr to the design, and, if so, certainly furthered it, the actual assassins app been fanatical Shiahs of the heretical Ismā'īlī sect'. The scene o according to both Juzjani (Raverty, 484 and 486) and Rashid-ad-Din 157), was a place called Damyak; and the date is given in a quat by Juzjani (Raverty, 486) as the 3rd of Sha'ban, 602, i.e. the 15th 1206. The position of Damyak is not known, but it was probably the northern bank of the Indus. Raverty, however, *loc. cit.*, n. 5, th likely that it was a little to the west of the Jhelum.

All who ruled and were obeyed and possessed wealth
and valiant troops
Reigned for a while and were chiefs and leaders and
then became nothing but the theme of conversation.[28]

[60] So many times had he toiled that the Sultan might have the profit of his toil! Still stranger was the case of the *malik* of Bamiyan, his close kinsman, himself wasting away and yet awaiting the approach of Shihab-ad-Din's end. When by the latter's death he attained his long-cherished wish he thought that the branches of his desire had borne fruit and that the garden of his fortune was become fresh and verdant. Without any pause or delay he travelled two stages in the space of one and traversed three parasangs in a single spurt. He was on the verge of realizing his wish when Death, by the decree of the Almighty, charged out from ambush and cut off the caravan of his life, which was fully loaded with the ambitions of this world. For a throne was substituted a bier, and misery took the place of felicity.

If any man attains a wish from his life in this world,
Fate causes the alif *to fall from it,*
Because from her is the origin of his composition, when
both ends of his wish are elided.[29]

Now these events were the cause of the Sultan's fortune, as shall be set forth in another chapter.

[III]

[61] HOW THE KINGDOM OF THE SULTANS OF GHUR PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD

WHEN Sultan Shihab-ad-Din departed from this vile abode to the eternal mansion, his slaves, each of whom had become a

[28] Abul-Faraj Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf of Hamadan, a contemporary of Tha'alibi and quoted by him in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., II, 99.

[29] If the initial *alif* of AMNYH (*umnīya*) 'wish' is elided there remains MNYH (*manīya*) 'death'; and when the final *hā* is also removed there remains MNY (*manī*) 'seminal fluid'. (M.Q.)

local ruler, now achieved independence within the territory under their sway. Thus Qutb-ad-Din Ai-Beg was for a time ruler of Delhi and the frontiers of India and carried out several great expeditions against the infidel of that country. When he died and left no male heir, a slave of his own, Il-Tutmish by name, renowned for his intelligence and acumen, was set upon the throne as his successor [1] and received the *laqab* of Shams-ad-Din. His fame spread through the greater part of India and into every land and country: there are many tales and traditions regarding his campaigns and victories. The countries along the Indus including Ucha,[2] Multan, Lahore and Peshawar were seized by Qubacha [62] and were afterwards conquered by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, as shall be mentioned in the proper place. Zavulistan [3] and Ghaznin [4] after many uprisings and disturbances were taken by Taj-ad-Din Ilduz, who became the ruler of that area. Herat, Ghiyas-ad-Din's capital, and Firuzkuh [5] were occupied by his son the Emir Mahmud. As is usual with heirs, he devoted himself to drinking and pleasure, to extravagance and frivolity; and because of the cheerful sound of the harp could not reconcile himself to the hardships of war. And since the emirs saw in his actions nought but softness and langour, and weakness and impotence, there arose a disagreement among the notables and chief men, and 'Izz-ad-Din Husain, son of Kharmil, the governor of Herat, who was the pride and the bulwark of the Sultan's kingdom, anticipated the other emirs

[1] In fact Ai-Beg was succeeded by his son Aram Shah, who was however dethroned by Il-Tutmish after reigning for less than a year. See Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 50–1.

[2] Reading AWČA for the AWJA of the text, i.e. Uch on the Chenab in the State of Bahawalpur.

[3] Zāvulistān (or Zābulistān) was the name given to the mountainous country along the upper waters of the Helmand.

[4] Ghaznīn is another form of Ghazna (now Ghazni).

[5] Identified by Holdich, *The Gates of India*, 222–3, with Taiwara in the Ghur valley. 'Taiwara is locally known as Ghur, and may be absolutely on the site of the ancient capital, for there are ruins enough to support the theory. . . . There is . . . absolutely no difficulty in traversing these Taimani mountain regions in almost any direction, and the facility for movement, combined with the beauty and fertility of the country, all point unmistakably to Taiwara and its neighbourhood as the seat of the Ghuri dynasty of the Afghan kings.'

in swearing allegiance to Sultan Muhammad *(may God make bright his example!)* and sent message after message and messenger after messenger to him urging him first of all to advance against Herat and annex that kingdom to his other dominions. Now at that time the Sultan was apprehensive of the Khan of Khitai[a] fearing lest he should steal a march on him and take possession of Balkh and the adjoining territory, which had been in the hands of the Sultans of Ghur and lay close to the kingdom of Khitai. Wishing, therefore, in the first place to keep off the Turks of Khitai he refrained from approaching that area [in person] but sent a messenger to Shadyakh to bid the army of Khorasan proceed to Herat. 'Izz-ad-Din, son of Kharmil, came out to welcome them and surrendered the town to them, and trod not the road of resistance. He was greatly distinguished by the Sultan with all kinds of gifts and presents [63] and received also a patent with *toghra* conferring that territory upon him. Meanwhile the other emirs, who sided with the Emir Mahmud, united to attack the Sultan's army. But before they could bestir themselves the Sultan's army charged down upon them like a lion leaping upon its prey or a falcon attacking a mountain partridge. They dispersed and scattered the whole of them, and sent bearers of these good tidings to the Sultan, and craved his presence with them; and whilst awaiting the arrival of the royal standards they halted by the way. When the Sultan arrived in the region of Balkh, the commanders of the castles came to wait on him and hastened to surrender the keys of their strongholds. As for the governor of Balkh, 'Imad-ad-Din, who was the chief emir of Bamiyan, he at first breathed hotly the breath of devotion to the Sultan and was constantly giving voice to claims of allegiance and loyalty to his Court. But when the royal banners rose up upon the desert horizon it became as clear as the sun that his claims were illusory and his words inconstant; for relying upon the fortress of Hinduvan, which was a stout stronghold and a firm foundation, he broke his promise and assembled therein choice treasuries of jewels and money. The victorious army, both horse and foot, sat down like a bracelet

[a] I.e. Qara-Khitai.

around the walls of the fortress and rained down arrows and missiles until the foundations began to collapse and the garrison to turn their backs in flight. And since there was no other cure to 'Imad-ad-Din's hurt save submission and subjection, by force of necessity, not from choice, he began to knock at the door of supplication and sued for quarter. The Sultan granted his request lest he should take fright and treated him with greater indulgence than he had expected, promising to confirm him in the possession of the territories of which he was governor. When he came out of the fortress and kissed the floor of the audience-hall, he was distinguished by the greatness of the royal attentions and the abundance of the kingly favours he received; the bird of his security began to soar over the horizon of protection; and the distinction he enjoyed in the banquet of conviviality made him the envy alike of man and jinn—'*and the Lord knoweth what their breasts conceal*'.[7] [64] Suddenly the patrols seized a letter from the hands of the couriers and brought it to the Sultan. The contents of that letter, which was addressed to the governor of Bamiyan, consisted of nothing from beginning to end but belittling of the Sultan's cause and warnings against yielding obedience and allegiance to him. The Sultan placed that epistle in his hand saying: '"*Read thy book: there wanteth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day.*"'[8] He fell to the ground, and since his tongue could pronounce no excuse for his treachery, the Sultan declared that his violation of his covenant called for his release from the noose of life, but that since the tongue of pardon had granted his comprehension in the royal favour, in chivalry it might not be held lawful by the code of magnanimity to make any change or alteration therein. He therefore sent him to Khorazm together with all he desired in the way of choice treasures and congenial companions.

His son was in the castle of Tirmiz. Upon receiving news of his father he decided to refuse to come out. However his father sent a confidential messenger to upbraid and threaten him;

[7] Koran, xxviii, 69.
[8] *Ibid.*, xvii, 15. The Arabic word for 'book' also means 'letter'.

and he came down and, at the Sultan's command, surrendered Tirmiz to the Sultan of Samarqand.

The Sultan then entrusted the region of Balkh to Badr-ad-Din Chaghir and strengthened his hand with a large army.

Having cleansed that area of the impurities of internal disturbances the Sultan decided to proceed to Herat. Triumphant and victorious he set out by way of Jurzuvan,[9] with Time submissive to his command and the revolution of the heavens in accordance with his desire. Bearers of the glad tidings proceeded to Herat, and the inhabitants rejoiced and were of good cheer. The nobles hastened out to accord him a dutiful welcome, whilst the other classes busied themselves with decorating the town. They adorned the thoroughfare through the markets and streets with all kinds of gold-embroidered garments and hung up images and pictures. In the middle of Jumada I of that year[10] the Sultan entered the town with such equipage and majesty as no eye had ever seen and such elegance and good order as no ear had ever heard of. Cherubs preceded him crying [65] '"*Enter ye therein in peace, secure,*"'[11] and the people praised God, saying, '"*Praise be to God, Lord of the world!*"'[12] The Sultan strengthened the foundations of justice and under the shadow of his mercy and equity brought peace and repose to the whole people; and all the local rulers came to make obeisance to him. Thus the *malik* of Sistan hastened to his Court and was enrolled among the dignitaries of the kingdom: in the attentions and favours he received he was distinguished above all his coevals.

The Sultan likewise sent 'Allama of Kerman to win over the Emir Mahmud, whom he encouraged with many promises. The following verse about the Emir Mahmud is taken from a

[9] Jurzuvān or Gurzuvān was situated either at Qal'a Wali or at Takht-i-Khatun in north-western Afghanistan east of Bala Murghab. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 424 and n. 1.

[10] What year? There has been no previous mention of any year in this chapter. Ibn-al-Athir records this event *sub anno* 603/1206-7. (M.Q.)

[11] Koran, xv, 46.

[12] *Ibid.*, i, 1.

qasida composed by 'Allama at the time when he was sent on this mission:

> Sultan of East and West, Emperor of West and East,
> Mahmud, son of Muhammad, son of Sam, son of Husain.[13]

Mahmud sent an ambassador to the Sultan together with 'Allama in order to crave his appointment as viceroy of Firuzkuh and the settlement of that territory upon him. And by that envoy he sent such presents as were the accumulated treasures of all his ancestors, to which he added a white elephant. The following verse is from a *qasida* of 'Allama of Kerman describing this elephant which was brought along with him:

> *To the capital of the realm I have led an elephant,*
> *although I am not Abraha,*[14] *the son of as-Sabbah.*

The Sultan granted Mahmud's request and settled the viceroyalty upon him; and he ennobled the coinage and the *khutba* with the Sultan's title and adorned men's ears with the sound thereof.

Being now finished with the affairs of that region the Sultan decided to return home. He honoured 'Izz-ad-Din Husain, son of Kharmil, with the viceroyalty of those countries, showing him all manner of kindnesses and favours in gratitude for his services and assigning him land to the value of 250,000 [15] dinars of *rukni* gold. And in Jumada [66] II of that year [16] he shook the reins of departure in the direction of Khorazm gladdened with the advent of victory and prosperity and blessed by auspicious Exertion and predestined Fortune with the achievement of his desires.

[13] *Husain* no doubt for the sake of the rhyme with *maghribain* 'East and West'. His great-grandfather was 'Izz-ad-Din *Hasan*. His grandfather was Baha-ad-Din Sām, who ruled in Firuzkuh.

[14] See above, p. 323, n. 16.

[15] In A these figures are written in *siyāq* notation [*siyāq* or *dīvānī* is a system of figures in which Persian revenue officials keep their accounts], and since this MS. is very old (689/1290–1) it appears that in that age the *siyāq* notation was employed in more or less the same form as at the present day. (M.Q.)

[16] Again what year? Apparently 603/1206–7 according to Ibn-al-Athir and also the context. (M.Q.)

[IV]

OF WHAT BEFELL KHARMIL AFTER THE SULTAN'S RETURN

ɴɢ placed the government of the countries of Herat in the of Kharmil, the Sultan turned his reins homewards and fter busied himself with all kinds of other matters such as and expeditions against the infidel. Rumours spread d that he had perished in an attack upon the army of i, and the demon Temptation stuffed Kharmil's brain with h imaginings and the vanities of pride took up their abode nature. He sent an emissary to Sultan Mahmud, and to oppose the Sultan was to agree with them [1] they promised ll kinds of benefits, and he again struck coin and read the in the name of the Ghuris and imprisoned such as claimed connection with the Sultan's court. However, when the spread of the Sultan's return and triumphant entry into azm, Kharmil was frightened at his own stupidity (*khar-* and in dread of the violence and fury of the Sultan's anger. ad recourse to insincere excuses and sought by falsification lissimulation to conceal his shortcomings from the Sultan o be exempted from the duty of hastening to his presence. Sultan pardoned and forgave him and saw fit to condone ffences.

e men of Ghur, perceiving his hypocrisy and duplicity, ealizing that he again supported the court of Khorazm, red to attempt his life. Becoming aware of their secret ion Kharmil applied to the Sultan's officers in Khorasan esought their [67] aid. Most of the leading men set out erat and encamped outside the town. After obtaining an from them and craving the Sultan's protection Kharmil out, and all agreed as to the extirpation and destruction army of Ghur. On this account the words: '*At early your waters shall have sunk away*' [2] might have been applied

[1] presumably Mahmud and his advisers.

[2] ran, lxvii, 30. Lit. 'your waters shall have become a *ghaur* (i.e. a sinking ground)'—a word-play on Ghūr.

to the source of the Ghuris' power, and all their followers were scattered.

When Kharmil's duplicity became apparent, men ceased to repose confidence in his words or deeds, because in the first place he had for no reason entered the noose of obedience and had then, without any motive of fear or dread, divested himself of the garb of allegiance. On account of such suspicions accusations were made against him before the Sultan, to whom messages were sent, saying: 'Herat is a forest whereof he is the lion, and an ocean whereof he is the leviathan. If you neglect to deal with him, there will be distraction of minds and hearts.' The Sultan accordingly sent a message to the emirs ordering them to remove him and excise the source of his corruption. They continued to treat him with courtesy in their wonted manner and still kept treading the path of gaiety and joviality. Finally, one day, they summoned him for a consultation and closeted themselves with him. They discoursed on all manner of topics, and when they had finished the *malik* of Zuzan, Qivam-ad-Din, invited him to his house ostensibly to take food and drink; but he persisted in refusing, giving frivolous excuses *(? bi-bahāna-yi-takhfif)*. The *malik* of Zuzan then openly seized the reins of his horse and signalled to the chief officials to unsheathe the swords of death. His followers were scattered and he was dragged on foot into a tent. From thence they sent him to the castle of Salumid [3] near Khaf and pillaged his movable and immovable property. Several days later they sent his head to Khorazm.

His chief supporter and mainstay [68] was a person called Sa'd-ad-Din Rindi, a man of shrewdness and intelligence, not a fool or a glutton. He now escaped like a fox from the hunter and took refuge in the citadel of Herat. Together with him the followers of Kharmil had no desire but to repel attack, and the ruffians *(aubāsh)* and libertines *(rindī)* of Herat made ready to resist in the company of Rindi. He distributed Kharmil's

[3] Salūmid, the Salūmidh of the *Ḥudūd*, also known as Salūmak and Salām, is presumably the present-day Salāmī to the north-west of Khaf on the road to Turbat-i-Haidari.

ıries and all his possessions as largesse among the common ˙: and such of them as had previously possessed nothing ·. stick now became men of wealth and affluence. On this ınt they had, like *fida'is*, taken their lives in their hands and ared themselves for war and battle.

t this juncture, Közli [4] drew his hand out of the sleeve of lion in Shadyakh, as shall be described in the following ter. The Sultan came from Khorazm to Shadyakh and thence to Sarakhs.

ɔw when during Rindi's rebellion envoys were sent to him proach and rebuke him for an action which ill befitted his ition he used to excuse himself by saying: 'I am a faithful .nt of the Sultan and only await the arrival of the royal ıards to surrender the town and perform the ceremonies of '; for I place no trust in the word of the emirs.' This ment was reported to the Sultan, and the emirs instigated to proceed to Herat and urged him to hasten thither. When rrived Rindi repented of what he had done and continued ffer resistance. The flame of the Sultan's anger flared up er and he ordered the water of the river to be diverted against walls and the bank of the moat to be piled with tree-trunks rubbish. After some time had elapsed and the water had ɔughly soaked the walls, a dyke was opened and the water ed back with a rush like the wind. The tower known as Tower of Ashes collapsed, after which they filled in the t in the neighbourhood of the gates and raised it up with ı and rubbish, thus affording access to the fighting men [69] very side. One day Rindi was feasting a crowd of louts and ıns, when the *bahadurs* [5] raised their standards upon the walls, before that company had finished their breakfast they had ıupper of revenge upon them. The crafty Rindi, perceiving ɔosition to be hopeless, exchanged the robes of iniquity for

:ZLY. Cf. the *közlü* 'seeing' of Houtsma, *Glossar*, 99.

ıbādur, a word yet to be borrowed from his victorious opponents, is here—ıronistically—applied to Sultan Muhammad's own forces. The word still es in modern Mongolian in the form *bātor*. Cf. Ulan Bator, 'the Red ', as Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, is now called.

the rags of Sufism and sought in this way to conceal himself. The net of search was cast over the streets and bazaars until he was caught therein and dragged by the hair into the Sultan's presence. The latter then issued a proclamation that the soldiers should desist from pillage; and the shops of the town were re-opened that very day.

As for Rindi he was brought to account and questioned regarding the treasuries and what he had unjustly taken from the citizens of the town; and he rendered up all that he had or knew of. And in the end he was punished for his deeds, and Herat was purged of the impurities caused by the strife and tyranny of the unrighteous and was decked out with the bounteous justice of the Sultan. And from thence the Sultan set out for Khorazm.

[V]

OF KÖZLI AND HIS LATTER END

KÖZLI was a Turk, one of the kinsmen of the Sultan's mother. The emirate of Nishapur had been entrusted to him and the administration of that region was in his hands. Being informed of certain suspicions that the Sultan entertained against him, he took fright, and at the time of the siege of Herat, he suddenly withdrew,[1] before the Sultan set out thither, and came to Shadyakh. Here he put out a rumour that the army of Khitai had entered Khorazm and that the Sultan had retired in precipitation from Herat and on that account had ordered him to strengthen the walls of Shadyakh. On this pretext he took possession of the town [70] and opened the hand of confiscation and oppression upon the officials of the Divan and the wealthy. He likewise set about strengthening the ramparts and walls and digging out the moat and sent an envoy to the court of Khorazm seeking to engage the Sultan for the time being with false pretences and misrepresentations until the town had been fortified. What he thought was that when these fortifications were com-

[1] Apparently from the siege of Herat.

ınd he was in possession of dinars and dirhems, the kingdom in a state of disorder, the Sultan would fear the danger of ıtcome and so would not forfeit the pleasure of safety but l meet him on equal terms and do him no harm. When voy arrived in Khorazm it was clear from the message he :hat Közli had deviated from the path of rectitude, and the :ious banners of the Lord of the Sultans of the age were forth at the head of an army beyond number, every soldier ınt Bisutun [2] in valour, the whirlwind of zeal fanning the of wrath in their nature and their flashing swords grinding ponents in the dust. Közli's envoy fled back to Shadyakh :eported what had happened. Not having the where-l to resist Közli prepared for flight and together with his , and following left the town for the desert. The more :nt officials of the Divan such as Sharaf-al-Mulk (who was izier), Sayyid 'Ala-ad-Din the 'Alid, etc., as also the chief Rukn-ad-Din Mughisi and other notables were compelled :ompany him. That same dark night with his Turks and ːs he took the road to Turshiz. Upon his arrival there overnor *(muhtasham)* [3] besought him to release the notables n he had brought with him by compulsion. From fear, ree will, he left them in Turshiz, after seizing all their gings, and then departed in the direction of Kerman. ıwhile, on the 11th of Ramazan, 604 [30th of March, | the Sultan arrived at Shadyakh, from whence he visited hrine [71] of Tus [4] and then left for Sarakhs on his way :rat. As for Közli, he had had no success in Kerman and he heard of the Sultan's departure from Khorasan, the ıg for the soil of Shadyakh so fanned the flame of vain tion in his being that he speedily returned from Kerman. persons arrived from Tabas with the news that he was ng back but that his destination was unknown. Then tidings of his arrival in Turshiz. In the night of the third when the dawn birds raised their lament, his son together

ıe great mountain to the north of Kermanshah on whose rocks were carved nous Achaemenid inscriptions.

uhtasham was an Isma'ili title.

[4] I.e. Meshed.

with some of his followers charged forward and cast turmoil and confusion into the town. The townspeople hastily closed the gates and the soldiers took up their positions on the walls. Közli's son and his men circumambulated the town for a while and then encamped nearby, uncertain whether to stay or to depart. Suddenly by one of those chances which are due to the goodness and grace of the Lord of Favours there came news of the arrival in Tus of the *isfahbad*.[5] Sharaf-al-Mulk dispatched a courier to report Közli's rebellion and to crave the aversion of that evil. The *isfahbad* ordered a thousand horsemen to set out without delay. They fell upon Közli, put him to flight and then began to plunder and pillage. Közli and his men returned and charging down upon them, drove each of them into a [different] valley.

However, when Közli realized that he could not obtain admittance into the town, that the *isfahbad* had arrived in Shadyakh and that the Sultan was at the gates of Herat, he began to quiver like a bird with its throat cut and to tremble like a gazelle before the hawks and the hunters. He repented of his deeds and began to bite his fingers at the commission of rebellion, which was a pain without cure, and to consult with his followers as to whether they should depart or remain and what their destination and objective should be. Some said that they should seek the protection of the Sultan's mother and therefore proceed to Khorazm. A Turcoman from Yazir[6] who was amongst them, said: 'Our best course is to go to Yazir and make its strongholds [72] our refuge. I will go on ahead and devise some stratagem. It may be that I can at once easily obtain possession of a stronghold.' His words were in agreement with Közli's wishes, and he sent him on in advance with a band of men. When he came to Yazir the townspeople perceived his intention and realized his treachery. They bound him and dispatched him in chains to the Sultan.

When this plan too had broken in their jaws, their bewilderment increased and a difference of opinion arose between Közli,

[5] I.e. the *isfahbad* or ruler of Kabūd-Jāma, on which see below, p. 351, n. 3.
[6] See above, p. 151, n. 8.

son and his followers. His son said: 'We must go to ansoxiana and attach ourselves to the Khan of Khitai.' His her said: 'Let us go to Khorazm and place ourselves under protection of Terken Khatun.' Neither would accept the her's opinion, and Közli's son plundered his treasury and set t for Transoxiana. Upon reaching the ford over the Oxus he met by a company of the Sultan's courtiers, who, after a ious struggle, took him and his followers prisoner and sent eir heads to the Sultan.

As for Közli himself, when he arrived in Khorazm, Terken hatun encouraged him with promises and said: 'The cure r thy affairs] is for thee to take up thy abode beside the tomb Sultan Tekish, clad in garments of rags. Perhaps by this vice the Sultan will be induced to pass over thy faults and ences.' He accordingly adopted the practices of Sufism beside dust of Tekish, until Terken Khatun suddenly learnt that head had been severed from his body and brought to the ltan. And so the wind of that insurrection subsided, d the Sultan's justice was scattered upon the noble and base.

> The revolving cupola, we can imagine, is appreciative
> of good and evil.

It was in that same year, viz. 605/1208–9, that God Almighty wed His servants an example of the terror of '*When the Earth th her quaking shall quake*';[7] and it was by His grace that the inning of that calamity was in broad daylight so that the hole of the people rushed out into the countryside [73] leaving that they had in the town. All the mansions and palaces wed their heads to the ground like worshippers and of the ildings of the town few only stood firm except the Mani'i osques, [the buildings round] the square and the like thereof. nd so it continued whilst for a time all the people remained the open country. Nevertheless, 2000 men and women were ried beneath the walls, and in the villages so many perished at their numbers cannot be computed. The two villages of

[7] Koran, xcix, 1.

Dana and Banask [8] actually collapsed in a single instant and of the people inside them not a single soul escaped alive. *God Almighty preserve us from the like thereof and the punishment of this world and the next!*

[VI]

OF THE ACCESSION OF MAZANDARAN AND KERMAN

WHEN Fortune began to smile upon the Sultan, important events would show their faces hour by hour from behind the veil of the unseen, without any effort or exertion on his part; and one such instance was the case of Mazandaran.

When the Sultan set out for Transoxiana in the year 606/1209–1210 Shah-Ghazi,[1] who was a descendant of King Yazdajird [2] and retained of the possessions of his ancestors only the interior of Mazandaran, chose out from amongst his *sarhangs* a person called Bu-Riza [3] and showed him favour, exalting his rank so that he shared the kingdom with him and giving him his sister as wife. Bu-Riza's authority became more absolute than that of a deputy and he began to aspire to the nobility of kinghood. He assassinated Shah-Ghazi in his hunting grounds, but the latter's sister, his own wife, acted like a man and put her husband to death with violent torture in vengeance for her brother.

When Mengli [4] had returned from waiting on the Sultan and had arrived in Jurjan he received news of this. Conceiving a desire for the kingdom of Mazandaran [74] he proceeded thither, took possession of Shah-Ghazi's treasures, which had

[8] Neither place has been identified. The spelling of Banask (BNSK) is uncertain.

[1] The *isfabbad* or *ispahbad* Naṣīr-ad-Daula Shams-al-Mulūk Shāh-Ghāzī Rustam was the last ruler of the House of Bāvand. See Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 134–6.

[2] Yazdajird III, the last of the Sassanians.

[3] This was Abū-Rizā Husain b. Muhammad al-'Alavi al Mamṭīrī. See Ibn-Isfandiyar tr. Browne, 257.

[4] I.e. apparently Nāsir-ad-Din Mengli, a slave of the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Öz-Beg, who had made himself master of Persian Iraq. See below, ii, 701–2, also M.Q.'s note, III, 407–8.

›me down to him from ancient kings and noble monarchs, ıd sought his sister's hand in marriage. She refused him and ispatching a messenger to the Sultan offered herself as his bride ıd her kingdom as dowry. The Sultan sent a deputy to take ›ssession of Mazandaran and summon the woman to him. esirous of marriage with the Sultan she came to Khorazm and : bestowed her on one of his emirs and a year later entrusted at kingdom to Amin-ad-Din of Dihistan. And so was that ıngdom obtained which might not be procured by arms or mies.

And in the next year, which was the year 607/1210–11, ‹erman passed into his hands.

[VII]

OF THE CONQUEST OF TRANSOXIANA[1]

‹FTER the lands of Khorasan had been purged by him of the npurities of rebels, the notables and chief men of Transoxiana ispatched letter after letter to the Sultan calling upon him to ırn in that direction and cleanse that region from the oppression ıd tyranny of the Khitayan tyrants; for they were weary of elding obedience to idol-worshippers and had been humiliated / subjection to their command, especially the inhabitants of okhara; for a man from amongst the common people of that wn, a person called Sanjar, the son of a shield-seller, had ıurped authority over them and had seen fit to treat with con-mpt and contumely those to whom respect and honour were ıe. His name was changed to Sanjar-Malik and one of the its of Bokhara composed the following quatrain about him:

;] *Kingship is a precious and valuable thing, but the*
son of the cutler [? maddai] *would have it for nothing.*
Kingship and a throne are not fitting for one whose
father used to sell shields.

[1] A quite different version of the struggle between Sultan Muhammad and the ara-Khitai is given in Chapter X. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 355–9. Barthold ncludes that 'the second version is nearer the truth, although it also contains me statements which evoke great doubt'.

At the same time the Sultan himself had had his fill of the domineering attitude of Khitai and the contemptuous behaviour of Khitayan envoys and ambassadors, and it irked him to pay the tribute, to which his father had agreed at the time when he sought the aid of Khitai against his brother Sultan-Shah. Year after year, the ambassadors of Khitai would come and he would pay that tribute, writhing with grief thereat and seeking a pretext for breaking the treaty. Finally, in the year . . .,[2] when the envoys of Khitai came as usual to collect the tribute headed by * Tushi,[3] the latter, in their wonted manner, seated himself on the throne beside the Sultan and did not pay the proper respect to royalty. Since a noble soul disdains to endure the contempt of every base fellow, the Sultan ordered that foolish man to be crushed to pieces and his body thrown in the river; and in accordance with the verses:

Thou art under an obligation to this sword, therefore discharge
thy debts to it, for the sword hath a just claim on thy hand.[4]

he openly declared his enmity and proclaimed his hostility, and in the year[5] . . . set out for that region. [76] When he had crossed the ford and reached Bokhara, the inhabitants were engulfed in the effects of his all-embracing justice and overflowing mercy and the whole area was made to blossom with the report of his copious equity; while the son of the shield-seller received the punishment of his deeds '*in recompense of their works.*'[6]

From Bokhara he proceeded to Samarqand sending on in advance messengers to the Sultan of Samarqand, Sultan 'Usman. The latter had become estranged from the *gür-khan* because of

[2] There is a blank in A and B. C has 607/1210 but this, as M.Q. points out, is inconsistent with the statement in the previous chapter (see above, p. 340) that Sultan Muhammad set out for Transoxiana in 606/1209.

[3] The spelling of the name is quite uncertain. The text has TWYSY, for which I read TWŠY with C and E. The name is probably Chinese and is therefore not to be identified with that of Chingiz-Khan's eldest son.

[4] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi in praise of Shams-al-Ma'ali Qabus b. Vashmgir. It is quoted by 'Utbi in his history. (M.Q.)

[5] 'In the same year' according to C and D. There is a blank in A and B. 606/1209–10 must be meant or at the latest the beginning of 607/1210–11. (M.Q.)

[6] Koran, xxxii, 17.

his refusal to give him one of his daughters in marriage; he therefore hailed the auspicious arrival of the Sultan's retinue with joy and pleasure, of which the traces might be plainly seen on the brow of his circumstances. He agreed to obey and abide by the royal and imperial commands and prohibitions and read the *khutba* and struck coin in the Sultan's name. The people of Samarqand were then heartened by the Sultan's presence amongst them, and the two monarchs consulted together as to how they should repel the *gür-khan* and agreed upon declaring a holy war against him and engaging him in battle. As a measure of precaution the Sultan ordered the gates of the town to be strengthened. He also appointed Tört-Aba,[7] an emir related to his mother, to be his representative with the Sultan of Samarqand; and they set about preparing for action and assembling their forces for battle. Meanwhile the Sultan himself set out from thence to conduct the holy war at the head of valiant warriors skilled in onslaught and attack. When news of this reached the *gür-khan*, he for his part ordered Tayangu, who was the embroidery (*ṭirāz*)[8] on the garment of his kingdom and had his post at Taraz, to place himself in readiness. Tayangu, with the arrogance of pride, mustered an army [in its numbers] like unto serpents [77] or ants.

Having crossed the river at Fanakat the Sultan ordered the bridge that had been built for the passage of his troops to be destroyed so that they might set their hearts on honour and not disgrace themselves and bring shame upon their cause; but rather restore the water of Islam, which for some time past had been drained from the stream of those parts; and cast the water of true guidance upon the fire of that people's error or rather cast

[7] Reading TRTBH for the TRTYH of the text. Barthold has adopted the form Burtana. The name appears to be a compound of the Turkish *tört* 'four' and *aba* 'bear'. The second element might also be *apa*, on which see above, p. 148, n. 26. Houtsma, *Glossar*, 34, gives two examples of this type of compound: Altï-Bars from *altï* 'six' and *bars* 'panther' and Toquz-Temür from *toquz* 'nine' and *temür* 'iron'. Tört-Aba seems also to have been the name of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's 'Grand Huntsman' (*amīr-shikār*), spelt by Nasawi (ed. Houdas, 198 and 244) ṬRT ABH.

[8] Introduced for the sake of the word-play with Ṭarāz 'Talas'.

the fire '*whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the infidel*'[9] upon those worshippers of the fire; so that perchance the arrested winds of Islam might again begin to blow, and the tempests of misfortunes destroy their lands, and the side wind of adversity ruin the harvest of those liars' desire, and cast the dust of the true faith in the eyes of those wretches, and force back the hands of those vile ones from the kingdom. He came as far as the steppe of Ilamish,[10] whilst Tayangu with a mighty host, misled by conceit and self-delusion regarding his own strength and infatuated and encouraged by the number of his men and weapons, reached the ford over the Jaxartes, oblivious of God the Changer who saith, '"*Be!*" *and it is.*'[11]

> Lean not upon water, or else thou wilt limn pictures on the
> water vainly like bubbles and wilt measure the wind.

Now it so happened that they came face to face and opposed their ranks one to another on a Friday in Rabi' I, 607 [Aug.–Sept., 1210]. The Sultan commanded his men to behave in a careless and dilatory manner and to advance not a single step until the preachers of Islam had mounted their pulpits and uttered the prayer, '*O God, assist the armies and squadrons of the Moslems!*' after which they should all attack on every side, and perhaps, in answer to the prayers of the preachers of Islam and the amens of the Moslems, God would vouchsafe the victory. In obedience to the Sultan's command they waited for that moment, the young men on either side engaging meanwhile in skirmishes and knights defeating pawns upon the chessboard of battle. Finally, when the oven of war had been heated,

> The noise of the kettle-drum and the clamour of the fife
> rose up; the earth rose out of its place like the heavens;
> The commanders raised their banners on high, the valiant
> warriors laid down their lives—

[78] and on both sides bow and arrow were discarded and sword and dagger unsheathed. The sound of the *takbir* was

[9] Koran, ii, 22.
[10] In the northern part of the Andijan district according to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 159.
[11] Koran, ii, 111.

heard from the ranks of the Sultan and the shrilling of flute and whistle from the side of that Satan. Dust was stirred up like a cloud and swords were unsheathed like lightning. The Sultan became Lord of the banner of '*Verily, We have won*',[12] whilst his enemies became the target of '*We will surely take vengeance on the guilty ones*'.[13] The zephyr of divine grace began to blow and the bird of those miscreants' hearts to tremble. At the time of prayer the whole army raised a shout and charged down upon those wretches. At once the people of error [14] became '*like the people of Saba*',[15] one man of the Sultan's army victorious and a thousand of the enemy defeated, a lion and a thousand gazelles, a hawk and a thousand partridges.[16] The greater part of that sect of perdition were destroyed beneath the sword, and Tayangu himself was wounded in the battle and had fallen on his face like the subjects of the Khan of Khitai. A girl was standing over him and when someone tried to cut off his head she cried out: 'It is Tayangu!' and the man at once bound him up and carried him off to the Sultan. He was then sent to Khorazm together with the dispatches announcing the victory. And by this triumph the army waxed mighty and because of this favour they became possessed of fortune. Each achieved his object according to his desire, and all received in their embraces mistresses worthy of their longings. And by this victory, to which the words

She hath two lovers, a pederast and an adulterer [17]

might have applied, Majnun attained to Laila and Vamiq to 'Azra; [18] the devotees of wanton pastimes began to take their pleasure of moon-faced beauties; and the ambitious were

[12] Koran, xlviii, 1. [13] *Ibid.*, xxxii, 22.

[14] *khaṭā*: a pun on Khitai.

[15] The Arabic proverb, '(*They departed*) *like the people of Saba*,' refers to the dispersion of the Sabaeans caused by the bursting of the Dyke of Ma'rib. See Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 15–17.

[16] *tibū*: according to Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 36, the Sand-Partridge, *Ammoperdix bonhami*, Gray (*A. griseogularis*, Brandt), a bird 'found everywhere in Persia up to elevations of 7000 feet'.

[17] From a well-known *qasida* by Abū-Nuwās. (M.Q.)

[18] Majnūn ('Madman', his real name was Qais al-'Āmirī) and Lailā are the Romeo and Juliet of the Arabs. Their story forms the subject of an epic

gratified by the acquisition of wealth and the amassing of horses and camels. And to every part of the Sultan's domains there set out a messenger bearing the glad tidings of the victory that had been won. And in every soul there was relief at these tidings and in every spirit ease from these victories; and dread of the Sultan was increased a thousandfold in the hearts of men. Now it was the custom to write 'the Second Alexander' as one of Sultan Muhammad's titles. The Sultan said: 'The reign of Sanjar was very long. [79] If these titles are written for good luck let them write "Sultan Sanjar".' And so Sultan Sanjar was added to his titles. The *imam* Ziya-ad-Din Farsi [19] has a *qasida* on this victory and on the Sultan's being proclaimed as Sultan Sanjar. I shall set down a few verses of what I remember of it; it begins as follows:

> Thy face by its beauty has given perfection to the world of the soul; thy love by its kindness has given comeliness to the countenance of the heart.
> Now thy face has become the flame of the full moon; now thy locks have emitted the fragrance of the North wind.
> Behold the talisman whereby the night has been mixed with pure musk and thy ringlets given the colour of musk and moles.
> The joy he gave in my reunion with him was given by the arrival of the virtuous Chosroes,
> Sultan 'Ala-yi-Dunya Sanjar, whom the Possessor of Glory has chosen out from His creatures and given pomp and glory,
> The King of the Persians, the Second Alexander, whose counsel commanded his followers to conquer the kingdom of the Turks.
> If the atmosphere of the age has been contaminated with infidelity, thy sword with the fragrance of its victory has restored it to salubrity.
> Like the Sun thy sword has appeared in the East of righteousness and has brought about the downfall of the kingdom of Error.

---

by the Persian poet Nizami. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 406–8. The romance of Vāmiq (Wāmiq) and 'Azrā ('Adhrā), despite the Arabic names of its hero and heroine, was said to have been compiled for the Sassanian monarch Nushirvan. (*Ibid.*, 275–6.)

[19] A manuscript of the *divan* of this poet (not mentioned by Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*) was recently discovered by Professor D. S. Robertson. See his note, *A Forgotten Persian Poet of the Thirteenth Century*.

I have heard as follows from my cousin the late Sadr-i-Imam, the most excellent of the moderns, Shams-ad-Din 'Ali son of Muhammad *(may God envelop him in His mercy!)*: 'When messengers arrived in Shadyakh with the news that the Sultan had gained a victory over Khitai, all the people of the town, each in accordance with his temperament and circumstances, presented one another with gifts and addressed congratulations one to another. The order of ascetics offered thanks to God; the great men and notables feasted and revelled to the sound of timbal and flute; the common people rejoiced and made merry; the young men frolicked noisily in the gardens; and the old men engaged in talk one with another. With some others I called on my master Sayyid Murtaza the son of Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din *(may God clothe them both in the raiment of His mercy!)*. I found him sitting sad and silent in a corner of his house. We asked the reason for his grieving on so joyous an occasion. "O men of little heed," he replied, "beyond these Turks are a people stubborn in their vengeance and fury [80] and exceeding Gog and Magog [20] in the multitude of their numbers. And the people of Khitai were in truth the wall of Zul-Qarnain [21] between us and them. And it is unlikely, when that wall is gone, that there will be any peace within this realm or that any man will recline in comfort and enjoyment. To-day I am in mourning for Islam."'

> What is seen by the young man in a mirror is seen by
> the greybeard in a baked brick.

At the time when the Sultan returned in triumph from this campaign against the infidel, the *malik* of Otrar had been opposing righteous men, relying, as was his wont, upon strength and might; and although envoys were constantly being sent to

[20] Gog (Ya'jūj) and Magog (Ma'jūj) personified the barbarous peoples of North-Eastern Asia.

[21] Z̲ul-Qarnain (Dhul-Qarnain, 'He of the Two Horns') was an epithet applied to Alexander the Great, who was said to have constructed a wall of brass and iron to keep out Gog and Magog. See Koran, xviii, 82–98, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 236–7. The 'Wall of Gog and Magog' was in fact the Great Wall of China.

soften his attitude, he would not slip his head through the collar of obedience. He refused to dislodge from his brain the arrogance of pride and the vanity of riches, nor would he let himself be saved from the perils of ignominy by the prohibitions of admonition; and he turned aside from '*the straight path*'[22] by leaguing himself with Khitai. *God Almighty hath said: 'And what, now that guidance is come to them, letteth men from believing and from asking forgiveness of their Lord—unless they wait till that the doom of the ancients overtake them, or the chastisement come upon them in the sight of the universe?'*[23] When the Sultan learnt of his obstinacy and presumption he set out to attack him. As he drew near to their territory, the people of Otrar, seeing the onrush of a raging flood in his vast host and realizing that it could not be stemmed by resistance, approached the *malik* in a body and said: 'By thy rashness thou hast brought down upon us a ravenous lion whom it is inconceivable that we can overcome; and thou hast forcibly and ignominiously cast thyself and us into the jaws of a leviathan. Try courtesy in this predicament and desist from thy rude behaviour.' The ruler of Otrar realized that it was impossible to strike a kite with the talons of falcons and he saw no way to mend his affairs save by submission. So he came out sword in hand but clad only in a linen shirt, being midway, as it were, between hope and despair, and laid his head upon the floor of the Sultan's tent begging forgiveness for his crimes and offences. The Sultan requited his sins and misdemeanours with pardon and [81] remission and spared his life and property on condition that he left Otrar and removed to Nisa *(bā Nisā)* with his horsemen and horses, bag and baggage, there to settle with his women *(bā nisā)*[24] and men.

In this way no blood was shed, and having dispatched the *malik* to Nisa, the Sultan turned back to Samarqand, where Sultan 'Usman craved a pearl from the shell of the royal house and sought in marriage a full moon from the starry sky of majesty.

[22] '*Guide Thou us on* the straight path, *the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious—with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray.*' (Koran i, 5–6.)
[23] *Ibid.*, xviii, 53.
[24] The usual pun on Nisa.

The Sultan honoured him by granting that boon, as shall be related in another chapter, and having appointed Tört-Aba, a relation of Terken Khatun, as *shahna* of Samarqand, he left for Khorazm, the harbingers of good fortune upon his right and left and the lights of prosperity upon his neck and brow.

His saddlecloth flung across the back of the Sun,
his stirrup putting a ring in the ear of the Moon;
The banner of Kava [25] over the king's head was like
a wisp of cloud over the Moon.
He pierced the forbidding mouth with a smile, he said
'Keep back!' to the heavens from afar.

Upon arriving in Khorazm the Sultan prepared a feast and caused Tayangu to be put to death and flung in the river. By this victory fear of the Sultan was increased a thousandfold in men's hearts and rulers upon every side sent relays of envoys and gifts to his court. The words '*Shadow of God upon earth*' were written upon his auspicious *toghra*, and the chief scribe Fakhr-al-Mulk Nizam-ad-Din Farid of Jam composed the following verses:

O king of kings, disposer of the world, thou art he
from whose highmindedness the heavens might borrow.
In the eye of thy highmindedness the world in its
length and breadth seems smaller than an atom.
All the pure cherubs of thy age, after performing
the rites laid down by holy law,
[82] Chant as a charm the words: '*The Sultan is the shadow
of God on earth.*'

[VIII]

OF THE SULTAN'S RETURNING A SECOND TIME TO WAGE WAR ON THE *GÜR-KHAN*

DURING the Sultan's absence from Khorazm some remnants of the followers of Qadir Khan had breathed the breath of rebellion

[25] *dirafsh-i-kāviyānī.* The blacksmith Kāva was the first to revolt against the tyrant Ẓaḥḥāk (Dahāk); and his apron, converted into a banner, became the national standard of Iran.

in the region of Jand. On that account the Sultan did not remain long in Khorazm but set out for Jand to excise the pus of their being; whilst Sultan 'Usman stayed behind to complete his nuptials.

When the Sultan had extirpated that band of rebels, there came tidings that the army of Khitai had arrived at the gates of Samarqand and laid siege to the town. The Sultan set out in that direction from Jand; and at the same time he sent messengers to every part of his kingdom, and summoned all the armies that he had upon every side, and raised levies from all his lands. Meanwhile he proceeded towards Samarqand, where the army of Khitai had for some time been encamped on the bank of the river at the gates of the town. They had fought seventy engagements, and each time they had been defeated and the army of Islam triumphant except on one occasion when they had been victorious and had driven the army of Samarqand into the town. They now perceived that they were achieving nothing by their fighting and would soon be in a desperate plight, since bread will not return once it has fallen into water. Moreover, from one direction came news of the Sultan's approach and from the other reports of Küchlüg Khan's conquests. They therefore withdrew under cover of a truce.

When [83] the Sultan arrived in Samarqand the armies came together from every side and he departed from the town. Meanwhile the governor of Ighnaq,[1] who though a Moslem had not the character of one on account of his sympathy with the people of hypocrisy and contention, had refused to do his duty, although the Sultan had several times called on him to yield obedience and had encouraged him with fair promises; but because he had fortified himself in a castle which he held Satan had blown the wind of pride into his brain. The Sultan dispatched a detachment from a great army, nay a wave from a raging sea, which, upon arriving there, after some time brought him down

[1] AΓNAQ. Ighnaq (AΓNAQ) or Yighnaq (YΓNAQ), according to Yaqut, was a town in Turkestan, a dependency of Banakat. (M.Q.) Barthold, *Turkestan*, 356, n. 7, suggests its identity with Yūghank, a village near Samarqand (*ibid.*, 133).

from his castle and sent him in chains and shackles to the Sultan.

The Sultan now heard of Küchlüg's victories over the Khitayans, and he became more ambitious. Küchlüg's envoys approached him in secret and an agreement was reached between them that first of all the *gür-khan* must be removed: if the Sultan gained the victory over him he should receive all territory as far as Khotan and Kashgar, and if Küchlüg was the victor he should have everything as far as the river at Fanakat. After they had arrived at this understanding, Küchlüg was on one occasion victorious and on another defeated, as has been recorded in the chapter on the Qara-Khitai.[2] The Sultan now advanced beyond Samarqand, and the *gür-khan* receiving tidings thereof likewise made his preparations. When the armies drew near together the *isfahbad* of Kabud-Jama [3] and Tört-Aba, the *basqaq* [4] of Samarqand [84] joined in a conspiracy against the Sultan and sent a messenger in secret to the *gür-khan* to say that on the day of battle they and their troops would desert the Sultan on condition that, after the *gür-khan's* victory, Khorazm should be ceded to Tört-Aba and Khorasan to the *isfahbad*. In his reply the *gür-khan* promised the double of what they had asked. The two armies now came face to face and charge after charge was made [by either side]. The left wing of the Khitai attacked the Sultan's right, and in accordance with their promise Tört-Aba and the *isfahbad* withdrew and their forces also retired behind the centre. At the same time the Sultan's left wing defeated the *gür-khan's* right and they were put to flight. The centres of the two armies then became so involved with one another that neither could distinguish victor and vanquished, and both sides

[2] In this chapter [Chapter X] there is in fact no mention of Küchlüg's first and second campaigns against the *gür-khan*, which are dealt with only in I, 47–8 [i, 63–5]. (M.Q.)

[3] The district of Kabūd-Jāma, now called Hajjilar, lies in the extreme east of Gurgan (Astarabad). See Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 84.

[4] Tört-Aba had been appointed to act as Sultan Muhammad's 'representative with the Sultan of Samarqand' (p. 343); he is then described as 'the *shahna* of Samarqand' (p. 349), and here as the *basqaq*. On the terms *basqaq* and *shaḥna* see above, p. 105, n. 24, p. 44, n. 3.

looted and plundered and took to their heels. Now it was the custom of the Sultan on the day of battle to don the garb and dress of his opponents. Moreover certain of his retinue also in the confusion of the two armies had found themselves amongst the army of Khitai. For some days the Sultan remained unrecognized amongst that outlandish people until seizing a sudden opportunity he turned rein and reached the river at Fanakat. His arrival brought new life to his army. When the news of his disappearance had been spread about, everyone had had his own theory, some saying that he was a prisoner in the midst of that strange host, others that he had been killed; and no one knew the truth. Therefore messengers went forth with the glad tidings and letters-patent were dispatched to every side. Meanwhile the Sultan of the World returned to the city of Khorazm and again made ready for war and battle.

[IX]

OF THE CONQUEST OF FIRUZKUH AND GHAZNIN

AFTER the Sultan had conquered Herat he assigned Firuzkuh to Sultan Mahmud [1] [85] and did no harm thereto; and Sultan Mahmud read the *khutba* and struck coin in the Sultan's name.

During the Sultan's campaign against the infidel, his brother Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah, betook himself to Sultan Mahmud on account of an estrangement from his brother Sultan Muhammad. Sultan Mahmud received him with every honour, yielding him precedence over all the great nobles and bestowing upon him all manner of gifts and presents. After some time had passed somebody entered Sultan Mahmud's harem by way of a conduit, found him seated upon a throne and killed him. No one knew who had struck the blow but there was a rumour amongst the people that 'Ali-Shah had assassinated him because he coveted his kingdom. However that might be, when he was dead (and his death took place in the year 609/1212–13) there was no

[1] The son of Shihab-ad-Din (Muhammad Ghuri).

other descendant of the Sultans of Ghur who might strengthen the pillars of the Sultanate and reinforce the foundations of the kingdom; and accordingly the notables of Firuzkuh agreed upon Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah [as his successor] and set him upon the throne of the Sultanate. In order to observe the forms of respect he dispatched a message to the Sultan to inform him of what had occurred and to seek permission to assume the rank of Sultan as his brother's deputy. The Sultan sent Muhammad-i-Bashir with robes of honour and other presents for the purpose of his investiture as Sultan together with a signet and letter-patent. When Bashir had completed the ceremonies of congratulation, 'Ali-Shah retired to his robing-chamber in order to don the robes of honour. Bashir picked up the robes and followed him in. Then drawing his sword he struck off his head at one blow. The bearer of good tidings *(bashīr)* became a harbinger of evil *(naẕīr)*, and congratulations were turned into condolences. With 'Ali-Shah's death there was no one left to compete for the throne. The other letters-patent addressed to the chief officials with a view to winning them over were now read out, and the kingdom of Ghur and Firuzkuh and all that region passed into the hands of the Sultan.

After this, in the year 611/1214–15, there came news that Taj-ad-Din Ilduz had passed away in Ghaznin leaving no heir to succeed him and that one of the *ghulams* had ascended the throne in his place. The Sultan set out for that kingdom, which was a goodly realm, and directed his whole attention towards the conquest of those climes, which were then added to his other possessions. [86] In the treasury at Ghaznin which had been set up by Sultan Shihab-ad-Din there were discovered letters-patent from the Holy Seat of the Caliphate wherein the Ghurids were incited to attack the Sultan of Khorazm and the latter's (?) deeds and actions were reviled and misrepresented. The Sultan's anger with the Supreme Divan was increased hereby for he now knew that the hostility of the Ghurids had been largely due to the incitement and encouragement of the Seat of the Caliphate. Having taken possession of the lands of the Sultan of Ghur in the direction of India he returned to Samarqand. For the time

being he made no mention of that discovery wishing first of all to conquer the eastern provinces. This subject has been dealt with in a previous chapter.[2]

The countries of Herat, Ghur, Gharchistan and Sijistan to the frontiers of India were now added to the Sultan's domains. This was a realm which no one had conquered. These lands formed the central basis of the empire of Sultan Mahmud son of Sebük-Tegin and his descendants, generation after generation; and they still remained a separate entity under the Sultans of Ghur. They were now made the seat of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

[X]

OF THE KHANS OF QARA-KHITAI,[1] THEIR RISE TO POWER AND THEIR DESTRUCTION

THEIR original home was in Khitai where they were persons of authority and importance. Some powerful reason required their expulsion from their country, and they were forced to go into exile exposing themselves to perils and enduring the hardships of travel. Their prince and leader they call the *gür-khan,* i.e. the khan of khans. When he[2] left Khitai [87] he was accompanied by 80 members of his family and retinue,[3] though according to another tradition he was accompanied by a very

[2] There is in fact no previous mention of this matter. There is however a subsequent reference in Chapter XII (ii. 390).

[1] A translation of this chapter was made by Dr. K. H. Menges for the use of Professor Wittfogel and Professor Fêng in the appendix on Qara-Khitai in their monumental work, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125).*

[2] I.e. the original *gür-khan,* Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124–43). On the title *gür-khan* see above, p. 62, n. 4.

[3] 'Literally, "eighty people of his tribe and his followers". The wording is ambiguous. It may mean: eighty followers, members of his own tribe and others; or: eighty members of his tribe and (in addition) other followers. The first interpretation seems suggestive since the figure eighty more probably refers to the whole escort than to part of it; but the argument is by no means conclusive. The second interpretation implies the existence of additional followers beside the eighty tribesmen, which would bring the total closer to the number mentioned in the *Liao Shih,* i.e. two hundred.' (Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* 631, n. 16.)

large following.[4] When they reached the country of the Qirqiz they made attacks on the tribes in that area, who in turn harassed the Khitayans. From thence they journeyed on till they came to the Emil, where they built a town of which some traces still remain. Here many Turks and tribes in great numbers gathered around the *gür-khan* until they amounted to 40,000 households. But here too they were unable to remain and so they moved on until they came to the region of Balasaqun, which the Mongols now call Ghuz-Baligh.[5] The ruler of that country was a man who traced his descent to Afrasiyab but had no strength or power. The Qarligh [6] and Qanqli Turks in that area had shaken off their allegiance to him and used to molest him by making raids upon his followers and cattle and carrying out depredations. And this person, who was the ruler, was unable to check them or ward them off. Hearing of the settlement of the *gür-khan* and his followers and their great numbers, he sent messengers to him to inform him of his own powerlessness and of the strength and wickedness of the Qanqli and Qarluq and to beg him to advance upon his capital so that he might place the whole of his kingdom under his control and so free himself from the cares of this world. The *gür-khan* proceeded to Balasaqun and ascended a throne [88] that had cost him nothing. From the descendant of Afrasiyab he took over the title of *khan*, giving him the designation of *ilig* **türkmen*.[7] He then dispatched

[4] 'The two versions recorded by Juwayni seem irreconcilable. However both make sense if we accept the Chinese record which notes that Yeh-lü Ta-shih reached K'o-tun with only a small group of followers, adding numerous new troops to this nucleus during his sojourn in the northern garrison. He soon had "ten thousand war horses" . . . Juwayni's seemingly contradictory versions possibly refer to these two phases of Yeh-lü Ta-shih's military career, which the Moslem historian, writing a hundred and fifty years after the event, failed to distinguish.' (*Loc. cit.*, n. 17.)

[5] Reading ΓZ BALYΓ for the ΓR BALYΓ of the text. The name has already appeared in the form Quz-Baligh. See above, p. 58 and n. 21. In the Chinese record we find the older form of the name, Quz-Ordu. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 538. [6] Qarligh (QRLYΓ) for the usual Qarlugh (QRLΓ).

[7] Reading AYLK TRKMAN for the AYLK TRKAN of the text in accordance with Barthold's suggestion. See above, p. 288, n. 34. It may be however that the phrase is to be read: *ilig-i-Turkān* 'the *ilig* of the Turks'. See Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 164.

shahnas to every region from Qam-Kemchik [8] to Barskhan [9] and from Taraz to Yafinch.[10] When some time had passed and his people had prospered and their cattle grown fat, he brought the Qanqli under his sway and dispatching an army to Kashghar and Khotan conquered that region also. He next dispatched an army to the land of the Qirqiz to avenge the treatment he had received at their hands. He also conquered Besh-Baligh and sent an army from thence to Farghana and Transoxiana, which countries likewise submitted to him, the Sultans of Transoxiana, who were the ancestors of Sultan 'Usman, acknowledging him as their suzerain. After he had gained these victories and his army had been heartened thereby and his horsemen and horses increased in number, he sent Erbüz, who was his commander-in-chief, to Khorazm, where he sacked the villages and wrought great slaughter. Atsiz, the Khorazm-Shah, sent an envoy to him, accepted allegiance to the *gür-khan* and agreed to pay a tribute of 3,000 gold dinars, which he delivered thereafter every year in goods or cattle. Having made peace on these terms Erbüz returned home. Shortly afterwards the *gür-khan* died and his wife, Kuyang,[11] ascended the throne as his successor and began to issue commands. All [89] the people yielded obedience to her until she was overcome with sensual desire and was put to death with someone who was related to and associated with her.[12] One of the *gür-khan's* two

[8] I.e. the region of the Upper Yenisei. See above, p. 69, n. 21.

[9] Reading BARS XAN for the BARSRḤAN of the text. Apparently Upper Barskhan, which lay south of the Issyk Kul, 'most probably near the present-day Przhevalsk (Qara-qol)'. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 292–3.

[10] Reading YAFNČ for the YAMNḤ of the text. Yafinch according to Kashghari was 'a town near the Ili' (III, 375) and also the name of a river (I, 59), which Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 276, is inclined to identify with the Qara-Tal, which flows into Lake Balkhash north of the Ili.

[11] KWYNK. This was T'a-pu-yen (1144–50), whose honorific title was the Empress Kan-t'ien, her reign title being Hsien-ch'ing. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 621 and 643. Kuyang is perhaps identical with the Mongol title *guyang* from the Chinese *kuo-wang* 'prince de royaume', on which see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 221 and 362–4.

[12] Here Juvaini has confused Yeh-lü Ta-shih's widow with his daughter, P'u-su-wan, on whom see above, p. 290, n. 37. The paramour was her brother-in-law, Hsiao p'u-ku-chih. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 646.

brothers,[13] who were still alive, was chosen to succeed him. The other brother tried to seize the kingdom and was removed. The first brother waxed in strength, appointing each person to some office and sending *shahnas* to all parts.

When Atsiz was succeeded by his son Tekish, the latter continued to pay the fixed amount in tribute and strove to please the *gür-khan* in every way. When he was lying on his death bed he charged his sons not to fight the *gür-khan* nor to break the agreement that had been reached, because 'he was a great wall behind which there were terrible foes'.[14]

When Sultan Muhammad came to the throne he continued for a while to pay the tribute and there was nothing to mar the friendship between them. Thus, when Shihab-ad-Din of Ghur attacked the Sultan, the *gür-khan* sent a force of 10,000 men to his assistance. They joined battle at Andkhud and the Ghuris were routed. However, the Sultan's ambition was such that he considered the Lord of the Planets inferior in rank to his own parasol, and it irked him to submit to a capitation-tax and to pay tribute to the *gür-khan*. He held up payment for two or three years and was slow in discharging his obligation. In the end the *gür-khan* sent Mahmud Tai,[15] his chief vizier, to claim what was due. When he arrived in Khorazm, the bearer of somewhat harsh missives, the Sultan was preparing for a campaign against the Qifchaq and did not wish to give a rough reply and so disobey his father's injunctions. Furthermore he was about to absent himself from his kingdom and it was undesirable that the Qara-Khitayans should avail themselves of

[13] These two brothers must in fact be the sons of the Emperor Yi-lieh (1151–63), who according to the *Liao shih* had left instructions that his younger sister was to succeed him since his son, i.e. apparently his elder son, was still of tender age. Upon P'u-su-wan's death however it was Yi-lieh's younger son who came to the throne. It would appear from Juvaini's account that the elder brother had then attempted to assert his rights. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 644, 646 and n. 18. The younger brother was Chih-lu-ku, the last of the *gür-khans* (1178–1211).

[14] See above, p. 347.

[15] Cf. the name Öz-Beg Tai (ii, 414). Tai (TAY) could be either *tai* 'maternal uncle' (Houtsma, *Glossar*, 83) or *tai* 'colt' *(ibid.)*, which frequently occurs in compound names.

the opportunity and make an attack. On the other hand he was ashamed to accept his position as a tributary. In replying, therefore, he said neither good nor ill but entrusted the settlement [90] of the matter to the counsel of his mother, Terken Khatun, and made his departure.

Terken Khatun ordered the *gür-khan's* envoys to be received with honour and respect. She treated them courteously and paid up the annual tribute in full. She also sent some of the notables of her court to accompany Mahmud Tai to the *gür-khan* and apologize for the delay in payment; and confirmed that the Sultan was still bound by the terms of subjection and submission. However Mahmud Tai had observed the ambition and contumacy of the Sultan and had recognized that his temper was such that he considered his rank too elevated for him to abase himself and fawn before any mortal or to humble himself in any way; he deemed all the monarchs of the world to be his servants, nay he considered Fortune herself to be his handmaid.

In war I am a raging lion, javelins my lair and
my swords my claws.
Time is my slave and Generosity my thrall, the earth
my abode and mankind my guests.

Mahmud Tai reported all these circumstances to the *gür-khan* and said: 'The Sultan is insincere and will not pay tribute again.' The *gür-khan,* for his part, did not specially honour the Sultan's envoys or pay them much attention.

When the Sultan returned in triumph from his campaign against the Qifchaq to Khorazm, the capital of his kingdom, he began to make plans for the conquest of Transoxiana, leading an army to Bokhara and sending secret messages to every side and encouraging everyone with promises, holding out particular inducements to Sultan 'Usman. All were tired of the long rule of the *gür-khan* and had come to detest his revenue officials *(manṣūbān-i-'ummāl)* and local administrators *(muqalladān-i-a'māl),* who, contrary to their former practice, had begun to conduct themselves in a lawless and oppressive manner. Accordingly everyone accepted the Sultan's invitation, which both heartened

and rejoiced them; and the Sultan turned back from Bokhara on the understanding that he would return in the following year to attack the *gür-khan.*

In the East, too, the emirs of the *gür-khan* began to breathe rebellion. At that time Küchlüg [91] was in attendance on the *gür-khan* and was unable to oppose him as he would have wished. When he heard how his fortunes had changed and his kingdom was tottering he craved permission to return and gather together the scattered remains of his forces, dispersed on every side, in order that he might come to his assistance. This pretence accorded with the *gür-khan's* temper and he believed his words, which exuded from a well of falsity and a mass of iniquity. He distinguished him with costly robes of honour and conferred upon him the title of *Küchlüg-Khan.*[16] When he had gone the *gür-khan* repented of having sent him—

And he repented when repenting was of no avail.

He sent for the local rulers upon every side that were his emirs and agents such as Sultan 'Usman and others. Now Sultan 'Usman had sought a daughter of the *gür-khan* in marriage and had been refused. He was therefore full of resentment against him and did not respond to the summons. Instead he sent a messenger to Sultan Muhammad to declare his loyalty to him. He also read the *khutba* and struck coin in Samarqand in the Sultan's name and rose in open rebellion against the *gür-khan.* When the latter received tidings of this he mustered 30,000 men and sent them to wage war on Sultan 'Usman. He recaptured Samarqand but would allow no great harm to be done to it, for he regarded it as his treasury. But when Küchlüg had gathered strength in the more distant regions and began to attack and ravage his territory he withdrew his army from Samarqand in order to repel him and dispatched them against him. Learning of the confusion caused by Küchlüg and of the *gür-khan's* having sent his army to destroy and uproot him, the Sultan availed himself of the opportunity and set out for Samarqand. The Sultan of Sultans came out to receive him and surrendered the

[16] Cf. above, p. 63.

kingdom of Samarqand into his hands. From thence they proceeded together against the *gür-khan* and came at last to Taraz, where Tayangu lay with an enormous army. He too mustered his forces and came out to do battle. When the two armies stood facing each other, attacks were made by either side, and the left wing of both armies drove back the opposing right wing [92], after which both sides withdrew. The *gür-khan's* army then retreated, Tayangu having been taken prisoner; and the Sultan also retreated. As they retired the army of Khitai set their hands to rapine and massacre and devastation in the towns and villages and amongst the peasantry. When they arrived before Balasaqun, the inhabitants, who had set their hearts on the Sultan's conquering that region, closed their gates and, when the army of Qara-Khitai arrived, refused to admit them; nay rather they joined battle with them and fought hard for sixteen days thinking that the Sultan was at their heels. Mahmud Tai and the emirs of the *gür-khan* tried to come to terms with them and offered advice, but they would not trust them. Finally, the army of Khitai, which lay open every side, was all gathered together; whereupon they drove the elephants they had captured from the Sultan's army against the gates and destroyed them. Having massed upon every side their troops now entered the town, where they laid their hands on their swords sparing no one. For three days and nights they massacred the inhabitants, and 47,000 of the chief notables were counted among the slain; whilst the *gür-khan's* army were greatly heartened by the quantity of booty. Now the Khan's treasuries had been emptied partly by looting and partly by the payments of wages and salaries, and Mahmud Tai, fearing lest covetous eyes might be cast upon his own wealth, which was greater than that of Qarun, suggested that the private treasury which the army had retrieved from Küchlüg should be collected together again. But when the emirs heard of this idea, they hung back and became uneasy; and began to breathe the breath of independence and rebellion. Meanwhile Küchlüg was again ready for action, and when he heard that the *gür-khan* was separated from his army, [93] that the towns and peasantry had been subjected to oppression and

that the greater part of the army was standing aloof from him, he again availed himself of his opportunity and falling upon him like a lightning-flash from a cloud took him completely unawares. *God Almighty hath said: 'Seest thou not that we send the Satans against the Infidels to urge them into sin?'*[17] All of his army was scattered and far away, and having no other choice he sought to do homage to Küchlüg and humble himself before him; but Küchlüg would not suffer this but treated him with respect, looking upon him as a father and sparing his feelings. Now the *gür-khan* had affianced to himself the daughter of a great emir, who was the envy of Venus and Jupiter. When he came under Küchlüg's dominion the latter took the girl for himself. A year or two later the *gür-khan* passed away[18] and the wind of that dynasty died down after they had reigned in prosperity and happiness for three *qarn* and five years,[19] during all of which period no harm had touched the skirt of their fortune. But when the time came for their decline and fall, one who had been a captive in prison became ruler over the khan of that people, whilst the *gür-khan* received a tomb for his abode and all his people were bewildered and dismayed.

When the time came that kingdom did not remain;
all that lordly activity was of no avail.
When it comes, it is gain, when it goes it is pain;
empty-handedness is preferable to such treasure.

God Almighty hath said: 'Their state is like that of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them who treated their Lord's signs as lies. We therefore destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh; for they were all doers of wrong.'[20]

[17] Koran, xix, 86.

[18] Chih-lu-ku was deposed by Küchlüg in 1211 and died in 1213. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 652 and 653.

[19] Reading *si qarn va panj sāl* with D. The text, following A, has *si qarn navad va panj sāl*, i.e. probably 'three *qarn* (= ninety) and five years'. Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, XV, 80) has the same reading as D. Smirnova, 182, translates the phrase 'three hundred and five years', evidently taking *qarn* in its modern sense of 'century'. For *qarn* 'a period of thirty years' see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 760 and 772. In actual fact the dynasty (1124–1213) lasted for rather less than 95 years—89 solar or 92 lunar years.

[20] Koran, viii, 56.